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Syria holds the key to Beirut ceasefire hopes

## Shi'ites turn tanks on last PLO redoubts

From David Hirst in Beirut

The carnage which has turned the Palestinian quarters of Beirut into desolate battlefields inhabited only by the dead, the wounded, and the dwindling bands of fighters continued yesterday.

Despite calls for ceasefires and attempts at mediation, Shi'ite soldiers of the Amal militia and of the Lebanese army's Sixth Brigade continued to pour fire, including tank shells, at the last PLO redoubts of the Palestinians.

Red Cross vehicles attempting to enter the Bourj-al-Barajneh refugee camp were driven back by sniper fire, although from which side was not clear. Lebanese hospitals say that 245 people have died in the week of savage fighting in and around the three camps, but that there may be many more dead in the ruins.

At least 1,000 have been wounded and an estimated 25,000 have fled the camps to take refuge in areas controlled by the Druze militia, which has remained neutral in the fighting.

Crowded in buildings under Druze militia control, Palestinians who escaped the fighting said they believed that hundreds of wounded were trapped in the camps.

According to a Reuters report, many spoke of arbitrary killings of Palestinians in the camps.

All the Palestinian wounded must be dead by now, said a 35-year-old teacher who escaped from Sabra after he had been hit by a bullet in the chest.

He said he had helped to bury dead fighters in Sabra before he was wounded himself. All we could do with the injured was bury them," he said.

Amal men and troops barred reporters from the camps. Escorting one reporter out of the

centre of Chatila, an Amal militiaman said that what was happening in the camp "is our business, not yours. You can come back in a couple of days."

The Amal assault on the camps has come in for almost universal Arab condemnation, but there have been no tangible results so far from the various efforts at mediation and halting the fighting. President Amin Gemayel was said to be consulting yesterday with the Secretary-General of the Arab League, Cheddi Kibre, and there were reports that Yasser Arafat, now in Tunis for a special PLO meeting on the

IRAQ yesterday launched air raids and missile attacks on a number of Iranian targets in a new escalation of the Gulf War. Iran said its jets had attacked the Iraqi town of Al-Amarah in retaliation.

At least six people were reported killed in a pre-dawn air raid on a refugee camp in the south of Lebanon, but Iran said it was too early to estimate the casualty toll from the missile attacks.

Report, page 4. Guerrillas tap up South Lebanon atacks, page 4. Leader, comment, page 10.

crisis, had appealed to King Fahd of Saudi Arabia for help.

The truth is that only Syria can stop this slaughter. The question is whether it will permit the Shi'ites assuming that they are capable to complete what they have begun. That would probably make for a long and increasingly grisly siege, something like another

Ta'alar, the refugee camp in Christian East Beirut which the Phalangists overran, with Syria help, in 1976.

The Syrian master plan, in its broad, unfolding purpose, is clear enough. The "battle of the camps" is another landmark in President Hafez Assad's gradual, inexorable imposition of Pax Syria over a tormented land. What its final

shape will be—some kind of organic link between Syria and Lebanon, military occupation or a purely political tutelage—perhaps Assad himself, cautiously feeling his way, does not know.

What no one disputes is that, more and more, Syria is asserting itself as the arbiter of Lebanon's destiny, that every new convulsion is an opportunity for strengthening his grip, that with the Israelis pulling out of the south the convulsions are coming thicker and faster, and that they have a climactic character. It can only be a matter of time and blood before the completion of Pax Syria.

Its foundations were laid when the US, Israel, and important Arab powers, acquiesced, however grudgingly, in the ultimate inevitability of Syria's domination. Some of the local actors, while acquiescing too, are still recalcitrant to Syrian purposes. At each other's expense they seek a larger place in the new order than Syria is prepared to allocate them.

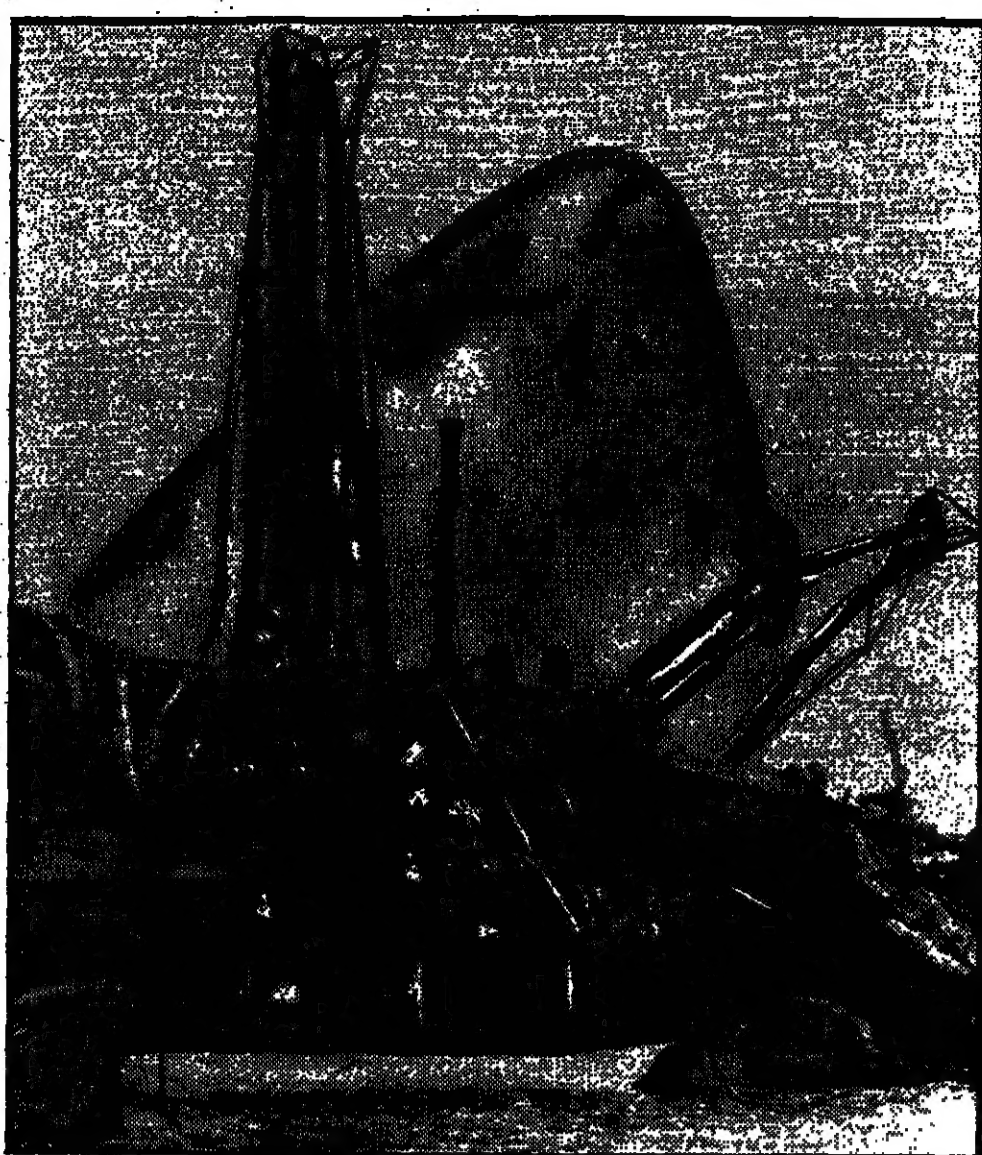
So, now, it is with the Palestinians. Strictly speaking, they are not, of course, a Lebanese community, but they are acting as though they enjoy "acquiring rights" alongside the Lebanese communities proper, above all the right to look after their own security in a uniquely threatening environment.

This disturbs President Assad, who is so apt to apprehend in any manifestation of Palestinian self-assertion, the machinations of Yasser Arafat.

If Lebanon's refugee camps were to become once again the armed redoubts they were before the Israeli invasion that would carry the danger that Arafat would win control of those of them in places, like Sabra, Tyre, where Syria's military writ does not run.

Arafat will not be coming back to Beirut or Sidon to defy the Syrians from there as he once did from Tripoli, but

Turn to back page, col. 3



EXPLOSIONS AFTERMATH: The bows of the wrecked Panamanian-registered tanker Petrogen One, (above), one of two vessels which exploded on the refinery quayside blast at San Roque. Red Cross workers, police, ambulancemen and an army unit, (below) helped to rescue survivors



## 32 killed as oil tankers explode in Spain

From Jane Walker in Madrid

THIRTY-TWO people died or were missing and another 36 were injured when two tankers exploded and caught fire yesterday morning at a Spanish oil refinery in the Bay of Algeciras.

There was panic in the nearby town of San Roque when the 20,000 residents feared that the refinery's oil storage tanks might also explode. Many fled the area.

Before the blast, the Panamanian-registered, Japanese-owned, 30,000-ton tanker, Petrogen One, with a crew of 23, was taking on a load of the highly inflammable naphtha oil. There was a huge explosion and the fire spread to an adjacent 8,000-ton Spanish tanker, Campanaria, with a crew of 30, which was loading petrol from the refinery.

The blast broke nearby windows and flames rose to 1,000 feet. "The explosion was terrific," said the Mayor of San Roque. "It was like an earthquake."

Fire-fighters from neighbouring towns rushed to the scene. Red Cross, police, ambulances and an army unit also joined in the rescue work. Two fire tenders and a support vehicle with stretchers from Gibraltar arrived within minutes.

"We heard a massive explosion across the bay and immediately crossed into Spain," said Mr Les Edmunds, Gibraltar's chief fire officer. "We found a scene of total devastation."

Many of the dead and injured had been blown into the sea by the force of the explosion and small boats helped to pick up victims.

The injured, many seriously burned, were taken to nearby hospitals. It is believed the majority of the crew from the Panamanian tanker were Korean and that there were some survivors.

An oil slick about 500 feet long has been reported in the Bay of Algeciras, and tags are trying to prevent it spreading. It was the third oil spillage into the bay this month, and by far the most serious.

Port officials said that most of the crew members were on board their ships at the time. Officials feared that bodies were trapped inside both vessels.

Seven Spanish dock workers whose Jeep was hit by the shock wave of the blasts were among the dead.

San Roque is a major petrochemical port built across the Bay of Algeciras during Franco's rule to give work to locals after he had sealed off the border with Gibraltar.

The Chancellor is agreed by his cabinet colleagues to be going into that fight in an atmosphere of good economics news.

Some senior ministers are emitting uncharacteristically gloomy noises about their prospects in the opinion polls and their unhappiness is the greater because of the Government's public expenditure difficulties.

Mr Nigel Lawson, the Chancellor, faces an exceptional tough round of spending negotiations with departmental colleagues in the autumn, since they will use pressure of public opinion to argue for a relaxation in spending targets to fight unemployment.

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## This week

### Today

#### FALKLANDS NIGHTMARE

One morning he did not leave early. Instead he took the children to school... there were tears in his eyes as Fiona and Jamie walked away and into their classrooms. I knew then that it was the day that the Norland would sail. Patricia Slater remembers 1982, when her ferryman husband went to war. Page 11. John Ezard finds the new Falklands spirit. Page 2.

#### THE CHIEF AND THE PM

If there is a breakdown in the Thatcher-FitzGerald talks on Ireland, the suspicion is that Enoch Powell will turn out to have a major share in it. writes Ian Aitken in his Commentary. Page 11.

#### FACE TO FAITH

The Archbishop of York writes on simplicity, directness, and disagreement in the church. Agenda, page 7.

#### THE SACRIFICE

Stalking Tarkovsky. Derek Malcolm goes shooting in Sweden. Arts Guardian, page 9.

## Tomorrow

#### PROFIT LOST

Industries want industrial funds. But too often it's industry that makes on the deal. Education Guardian.

## Wednesday

#### DYNASTY DEFIED

Guardian Women charts the making of an American: Lynn Redgrave.

#### DOLE DATA

Unemployment doesn't have to bring depression. Body and Soul on the people who make a good job of being jobless.

## Thursday

#### TRIBAL CUSTOMS

Guardian Women updates the Durotriges and Brigantes

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Star Wars mission

THE US vice-president, Mr George Bush is to visit European capitals, including London, next month in an attempt to dispel misgivings about President Reagan's Star Wars programme expressed by European leaders at the recent summit. Page 5.

### Lear Fan crash

THE British Government is expected to lose virtually all the £37 million paid out to subsidise the Belfast plant of the collapsed Lear fan aircraft firm. Back page.

### Missing midwives

LOW pay anomalies are blamed for a national shortage of midwives. Page 3.

### Rebels return

GRAHAM GOUGH and Peter Willey are named in the England party for the one-day match against Australia after completing their three-year ban from international cricket. Ian Botham also returns. Matthew Engel, page 17.

### Coventry's escape

COVENTRY escaped relegation from the First Division by beating the League champions Everton 4-1 yesterday. Strach go down instead. Report, page 18.

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### The weather

HEAVY rain in places. Details, back page.

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## Tory opponents lining up to spike Fowler timetable

By James Naughtie, Chief Political Correspondent

Mr Norman Fowler faces a battle with a substantial group of Conservative backbenchers over legislation he plans for the next parliamentary session to give effect to social security reviews he will unveil next week.

Legislative time has been allocated to the Social Services Secretary for a comprehensive bill in the new session beginning in November, but influential backbenchers are already arguing that this gives insufficient time to consider the complexities of the changes.

Their protests signal the start of two months of horse-trading between Mr Fowler and his parliamentary colleagues over the contents of his bill.

Members of Mr Francis Pym's Centre Forward group, and the band of traditional wets will argue that it is mistaken to attempt to make changes in one bill.

Backbenchers reacting to leaked versions of the reviews' conclusions sense that they will be electorally damaging. Reported charges on unemployment payments and supplementary benefits are particularly alarming to them.

The Cabinet has already agreed to modify Mr Fowler's original scheme for outright abolition of the state's earnings-related pension scheme.

Mr Fowler's green paper on the charges will be published next week. The detailed proposals for inclusion in a bill will have to be settled by the end of July.

This leaves a short time for consultation and discussions on a range of proposals which are complicated enough for Mr Fowler to have had to resort

to a half-hour slide show to explain it to the Cabinet. The package will be presented as a simplification of the present system, but Tory MPs — nearly all of whom back a fundamental overhaul — fear that it will be easy for the opposition parties to present the Fowler proposals simply as a shift in resources

from the worst-off to pay for eventual tax cuts for others. Mr Fowler can expect strong private pressure from some colleagues who will publicly welcome his reforms.

Some Tories believe that he may be prepared to drop some of the plans now in the green paper, such as the suggestions that recipients of housing benefit should be made to pay a percentage of their rates bills,

or to remove or reduce the payment of mortgages for those on unemployment benefit.

Mr Fowler's difficulty is that the Treasury is already unhappy about the relatively modest saving in the package — only about 2.5 per cent of the £40 billion annual budget — and would oppose any significant concession.

Several Tory backbenchers indicated last night that they expected to find themselves flatly opposed to parts of his scheme, though they were waiting for next week's Commons statement before declaring their opposition.

Ministers await the Fowler package with some trepidation, since the two months until the summer recess are expected to be difficult for the Government.

Labour and the Alliance promise a strong challenge to the Tory defence of their Brecon and Radnor set, which is expected in July and there is a prospect of good economics news.

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Concern on all sides, page 4

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1983 The oil company will be back in the water

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# New-found Falklands spirit warns against future betrayal

Returning to the South Atlantic after two years, John Ezard considers the islanders' mood in the wake of the airport opening

WHEN we flew out here by inaugural Tristar such a very long time ago — as it now seems — they split us into VVIPs, VIPs and the rest. Even the rest of us were categorised as important enough to have priority over families who had driven for up to six hours along camp tracks for the Mount Pleasant Airport opening.

They were barred from a long-prepared local craft and industry exhibition. In the Tristar hangar that an undisturbed press conference could be held there for the arch-VVIP Mr Michael Heseltine, some of the VVIPs and the rest of us, who were after all, important people. We had insisted, because of the five-hour time difference from the UK, that the press conference be held on ship in no way malicious. But although it happened as long ago in subjective time and understanding as May 12, I recall it with a certain shame. One you have delivered back into the human scale of the Falklands — even after a two-year absence — you remember that it is not the kind of thing you should do, particularly not here. Cardiffs too like the colonial past.

The VVIPs and VIPs have all gone back after their 48-hour whirlwind round the place. They were well-intentioned,

but some were unable to conceal their appalled sympathy when they heard you were staying for a month. The last, oldest and most indefatigably inquisitive of them, Lord Shackleton, aged 73, father of the modern Falklands, went back mid-week.

But there is nothing lonely or provincial about still being in Stanley, either from the two of the rest of us left or for those spending their lives here in this Wales-sized group of islands.

The early winter skies which so vexed the 1982 task force have cleared, despite occasional squalls, since the VVIPs left, and if you glance up as you trudge home, you notice something peculiar in the sky — a gigantic scarf of densely concentrated but distinct stars and luminous gas wrapped over the tops of the houses.

Down below, company is still plentiful. Brian Middleton has just beaten 180 other entrants in the 12-hour annual dashathon at the town hall, an event with an intense live and radio audience. Two nights later, in the same hall, the May Queen was crowned at the Winter May Ball, a ceremony that goes back at least 80 years.

At both these events, with few outsiders of importance

listening, there was still talk of a new spirit on the Falklands, "20th century pioneer work. Much as in the North American west", as Prince Andrew put it in his grandiose but otherwise knowledgeable airport inaugural address.

The first impressions of VVIPs and important people briefly visiting the Falklands are often inaccurate and have once proved lethal. But there is one image, above all, which has stood the test of almost a fortnight.

As the inaugural Tristar touched the runway you could see from the windows a group of children in blue anoraks jumping and waving wildly on a hill of mud far from the VIP reception area. One of the older, less important VVIPs said gently: "Those children must have seen a lot in their short lives."

And it was then, before the plane had even stopped, that you first felt you were back after two years — back into the old blinding Falklands mix of exceptional private warmth, closeness, humour and candour, and shadowed by strain and grief at the invasion, the deaths and the huge bombardments, and by worry about their own uncertain futures.

The shadow is still there, much more faintly, but this



AIRPORT ARRIVAL: Falklands Commissioner Sir Rex Hunt greeting Mr Michael Heseltine

time the real emphasis is on jumping and waving. God knows why, you might say, as a first impression during a 48-hour whirlwind. The "landscaped" sides of the airport road are mile-upon-mile mounds of excavated clay and peat. The road to RAF Stanley has broken up a year after being expensively

resurfaced. Even some town roads are still potholed, though not as badly. But ask around and you hear that the Mount Pleasant road — apart from being a route to and from the outside world — has been a mess of excavated clay and peat. The road to RAF Stanley has broken up a year after being expensively

pass, which keeps heavy military traffic out. And the town roads will be redone after wiring is laid for two projects which mark what is seriously called the transition from a nomadic to an expansion economy — a power station upgraded from 1.4 to 3.6 kV, and a power station

to meet extra demand, and a new telephone exchange. The pioneer spirit is overstated, of course. The airport is budgeted to cost the Defence Ministry 277 million by next year, which will take 11 years to recoup from airbase turnover savings.

Development — so far an indigenous road mill, commercial landscaping, an airport road and hydro-ponic market garden — is being financed from the sale of sheep and cattle. Even the 1982 post-conflict report.

More spectacular pioneering is displayed by the 200 foreign fishing ships ransacking these waters under Royal Navy and RAF search and rescue protection. There, and in a possible Antarctic future, is where the real test is already being made.

But the local sense of long-term building, beginning has gone deep very quickly in a place so long thirsting for growth. The imported development officers, David Taylor, Simon Armstrong and John Reid, have in less than two years almost dispelled 40 years of cynical despair about Whitehall's perpetual feasibility studies which came to nothing.

Their activism, coupled with the airport and the Government's continual restatement of support, have contributed to a sense that the islanders may have turned the dangerous corner they were approaching politi-

cally and economically long before the invasion. With all these things happening how many ask, could anyone give us away now?

The issue of what a non-Tory government might do was raised at a public meeting by the former Labour and Conservative MPs, Eric O'Donnell and Sir John Gifford, now chairmen of the Falkland Islands Association, the UK-based support group. "The Labour Party is in favour of staying away," he said, adding pointedly: "Even my own SDP... none at the 1982 audience — nearly half the able-bodied Stanley electorate — thought the point-waiting enough to take up. Discussion passed straight on to the practicalities of fisheries protection."

Lord Shackleton, though, has been reasonably happy. One of his last visits was to the Phillips family and Mount Kent, part of the 1982-83 campaign. Falkland Islands Company great-grandson, according to a first-hand account, said his first report in 1976.

The other families, Shackleton's oldest political children, the McKays, Watsons, Eastmans, McKays and Clarks, trekked in emigration to see him. It was a deeply happy and moving few hours, a world away from political cynicism, but as we left Shackleton, he said, "I don't think we'll walk away from them. They're ours."

## Emlyn Williams asks Thatcher to review murder convictions

### Pit leader pleads for gaoled miners

By Paul Hayward, Welsh Correspondent

The South Wales miners' leader Mr Emlyn Williams, has made a personal appeal to the Prime Minister to quash the murder convictions against two miners for killing a taxi driver during the pit strike.

His intervention came as 2,000 people, including miners and steel workers from Yorkshire, marched through Cardiff at the weekend in support of the gaoled men.

Mr Williams has written to Mrs Thatcher saying: "For the sake of human decency and recognition we beseech you from our hearts to order, at the earliest possible date, a review of the cases so that the sentences will be reduced to take cognisance of the context within which the crime occurred."

The South Wales miners' president told a rally outside the Welsh Office in Cardiff that a campaign was being launched — the like of which had never been seen in this country.

A petition calling for the sentences to be reduced had already attracted 11,000 signatures and the organisers had set a target of half a million by the end of the summer.

The Labour MPs, Mrs Ann Clwyd and Mr Ted Rowlands, pledged support for Russell Shanks and Dean Hancock,

both aged 21, of Rhymney, Mid-Glamorgan, who were found guilty of murder at Cardiff Crown Court earlier this month.

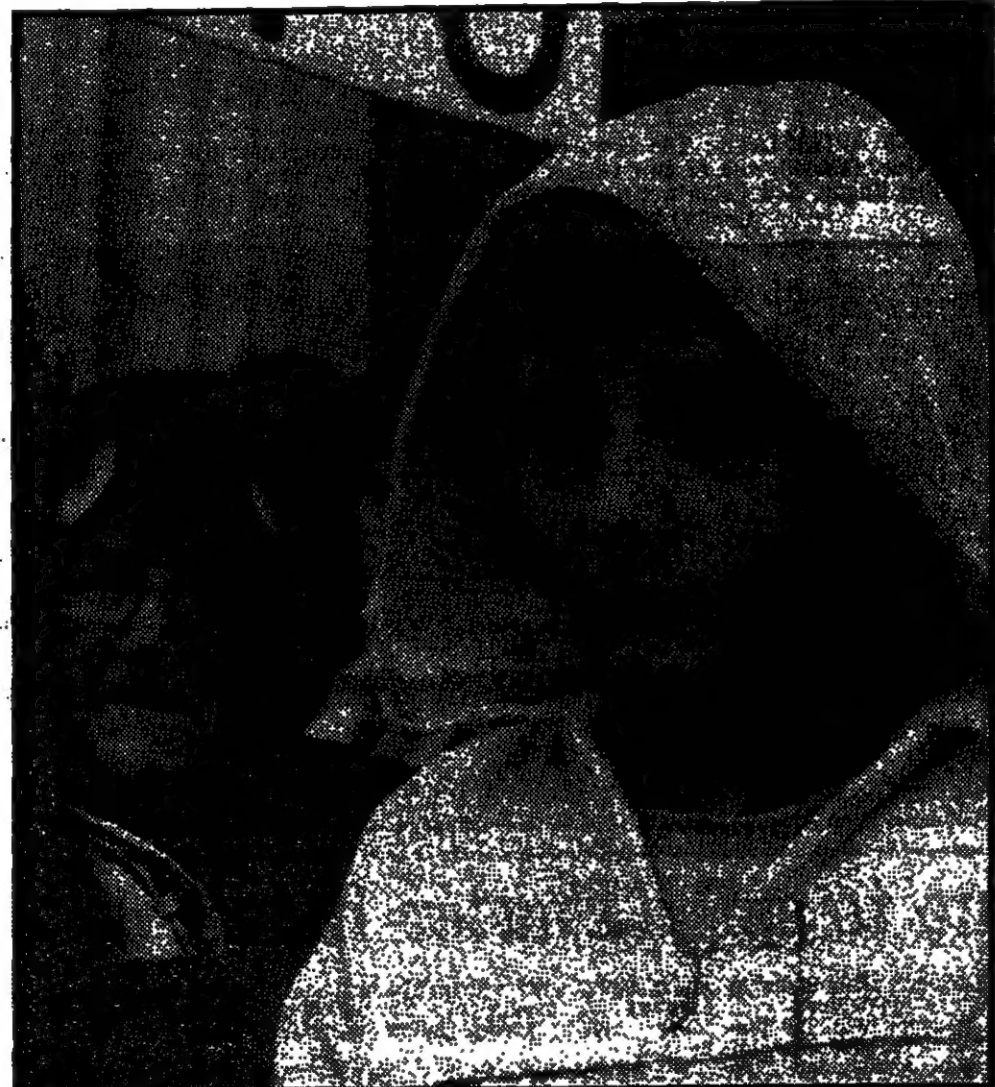
Hundreds of demonstrators gathered outside Cardiff prison, where the two men are being held.

The taxi driver, David Wike, was killed by a 40-pound concrete block which was dropped from a bridge and smashed through his windscreen as the taxi was working miner to Merthyr Vale Colliery in Mid-Glamorgan last November.

The Welsh mining communities had expected manslaughter verdicts and Mr Williams told the Prime Minister that the life sentences had left them "stunned and dismayed at what is overwhelmingly viewed as a gross miscarriage of justice."

While not seeking to justify Mr Wike's death — "his fate was a terrible one and we recognise the depth of the tragedy it has brought upon his families and friends" — there was no logic or justice in sentencing two young men to hang in the end of the century.

The Welsh mining communities provided themselves on mutual self-help, respect, and hard work. "That is why life sentences have registered such a deep hurt amongst us," Mr Williams said.



Lisa Hancock, the sister of one of the gaoled men, joins protesters outside Cardiff prison yesterday

## Leak case goes to the DPP

By Richard Norton Taylor

The Director of Public Prosecutions is studying a Foreign Office report on a leak of information which shows that ministers have misled parliament about the reasons for blocking aid to Nicaragua were leaked to MPs.

Mr Jeff Dennis, a 25-year-old clerk at the Overseas Development Administration — part of the Foreign Office — has admitted sending the papers to Mrs. He was suspended without pay 10 days ago.

The DPP faces the decision of whether to advise the Attorney-General, Sir Michael Havers, to bring a prosecution against the Official Secrets Act, or to argue that it would not be in the public interest to do so.

A question to the Foreign Office minister, Mr Malcolm Rifkind, from Mr George Foulkes, Labour's front bench spokesman on Latin America, about what further disciplinary action the government intended to take is due to be answered on June 3, immediately after parliament's Whitson recess.

Mr Dennis has sought legal advice from Mr Brian Raymond, the solicitor who acted for Mr Clive Ponting, the Minister of Defence official who was acquitted of secrets charges earlier this year. The executive of his union, the Civil and Public Services Association, also discussed the affair last week.

## DJ helps start litter campaign

The disc jockey Kenny Everett and TV's Roland Rat yesterday helped British Rail to launch an anti-litter campaign.

The two feature on posters at railway stations as part of the national "Beautify Britain" scheme organised by the Keep Britain Tidy group.

## Local radio presses for review of system as revenue falls

By Dennis Barker

Commercial radio stations are pressing the Government for a review of the Independent Local Radio system at a time when stations are fighting for survival by staff cuts and mergers. They do not believe Home Office assurances that the Postcomm Committee, which is considering the possibility that the BBC may be partly financed by advertising, will inevitably also provide a coherent vision of the future of independent radio.

If the Government does not agree to the review by July, when the Association of Independent Radio Contractors holds its annual congress, the Home Secretary, who will open the meeting, will face motions calling for reassurances on the future of the 46 ILR stations.

Mr Brittain will be especially asked for assurances that the introduction of small, low-powered community radio stations will be carried out in such a way that ILR is not damaged. Earlier this year Mr Brittain suggested that he was about to give the immediate go-

ahead for community radio. After the AIBC had pointed out that community radio might be too poor to pay contributors enough to run a quality service the Government has gone quiet on the subject.

Decline in advertising revenues — even without the competition of community radio — has forced even the larger and richer ILR stations into making redundancy proposals, which are bringing them into conflict with their unions.

Capital Radio, the London station which is the biggest and richest in ILR, made proposals for 22 redundancies. Later, it cut the number and offered improved terms to those who agreed to go. The technicians' union ACTT and the National Union of Journalists at Capital were discussing these proposals when they heard that the London news station, LBC, was proposing 33 redundancies. They adjourned their meeting. Discussions with management are continuing.

Capital has said its advertising revenue is 10 per cent down on last year, and LBC is also suffering. The average drop in the industry is about six per cent.

One of the few bright points in commercial radio is the zeal with which Radio Red Rose at Preston has pursued a campaign to merge with other stations to produce a bigger and stronger company. After a more relaxed interpretation of the Independent Broadcasting Authority's previously strict rule that capital should be mainly local, Red Rose, which has already taken over Radio Aire in Leeds, is considering taking over Radio Gwent at Newport, which has ceased trading with many debts, and its struggling neighbour, Cardiff Broadcasting Company.

Red Rose's tactics have not pleased the old hard-liners of commercial broadcasting. One of them accused Red Rose of "charging round the country trying to buy up stations." The IBA, which would have to give approval to any more Red Rose merger plans, has lately adopted an encouraging attitude to the merger of areas — though not yet as far apart as Preston and Cardiff.

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## Political rift splits BUAV

A political rift is threatening the British Union for the Abolition of Vivisection, one of four animal rights groups campaigning to end scientific experiments on animals. An extraordinary general meeting has been called in London on June 8, when an attempt will be made to remove seven of the 17-strong executive committee from office.

The dispute centres on the Government's white paper on animal cruelty and the cause of the rift is whether it is possible to measure the degree of pain in animal suffering in experiments.

Three BUAV staff, part of a radical faction seeking an immediate end to all animal experiments, were sacked last month and their supporters have called the meeting in an attempt to win a no-confidence vote on the seven committee members.

In April, the executive voted to sack Miss Margaret Mampou, office manager; Mr Kim Stallwood, campaigns officer; and Mr Paddy Broughton, group education co-ordinator, for failing to carry out instructions.

The three sacked staff deny that they are members of left-wing political organisations and have refused to leave. General council elections last month saw the RSPCA, which has been a BUAV ally, elected as one of the three sacked BUAV officials. Despite being the second most popular candidate out of 10 in the society's general council elections last year, Mr Stallwood has made himself unpopular by trying to radicalise the RSPCA.

He has made no secret of his view that the RSPCA should not be investing any of its estimated £17 million working fund in companies engaged in animal experiments.

## Sinclair's company hits cash crisis

By Maggie Brown

SIR CLIVE Sinclair, who pioneered Britain's love affair with the home computer but has so far failed to repeat his success with his electric toy, is now clearly in financial trouble.

He is the latest victim of the 2500 million high street home computer war which have raged since last summer. It became clear at the weekend that his main computer research and development company, Sinclair Research of Cambridge, is facing an unenviable cash crisis.

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## Methodists face call to quit freemasonry

By Martyn Halsall, Churches Correspondent

The English churches are taking an unprecedented interest in freemasonry, with four denominations questioning whether its beliefs are compatible with Christianity.

Their first report, drafted by a working party of Methodist theologians with help from the United Reformed Church, will be published on June 12. It is expected to declare masonic membership incompatible with Christian belief, and to call on Methodists among Britain's 500,000 masons to leave their lodges.

The Archbishop of Bolton, the Venerable Fred Hoyle, sees freemasonry as helpful to religious faith. When he retires from the Church of England in a few months he will take pastoral charges of some 700 masons in 21 chapters in England's second largest masonic province. "I'll be sort of suffragan bishop in that part of freemasonry," he said.

The Bishop of Manchester, the Right Reverend Stanley Booth-Clibborn, questioned the archbishop even before the General Synod voted overwhelmingly for an official Anglican report and debate. Leaders of the Baptist Union have been invited to meet senior masons at Freemasons' Hall in London since the Methodists launched their doctrinal task force last July.

"We welcome the inquiry, always providing it is a full and open inquiry," said Mr Colin Gregory, grand secretary for the 17,000 members of the East Lancashire province. "We have nothing to hide. Freemasonry was neither a religion nor a substitute for a religion," he said. Beliefs, such as the doctrine of masonic brotherhood, like politics, were expressly forbidden at lodge meetings.

Freemasonry, nevertheless, has a spiritual content. The only question asked of aspiring members is whether they believe in a supreme being. All lodge meetings begin and end with prayers, led by a chaplain. Such devotion has to be acceptable to men of all faiths.

Archbishop Hoyle, a former long church member, said: "The only multi-faith society that exists at the moment is freemasonry; our prayers respect that."

Freemasonry defines itself as "a society of men concerned with moral and spiritual values." Mr Hoyle, according to a masonic leaflet, "is open to men of any race or religion who can fulfill this essential qualification (belief in a supreme being) and are of good repute."

The leaflet lists the three great principles as brotherly love, relief (or charity), and striving. "So, truth, it denies that freemasonry is a secret society. 'We are a society with secrets, and so is a football club,'" said Mr Gregory.

Archbishop Hoyle senses worries within the Church of England about the attraction of freemasonry to its members. "I think the Church ought to be worried," he said, "they were in general understanding themselves by taking the ceremonial out of religion. Men in particular have a psychological need to be involved in ceremonial acts," he said.

Mr Gregory hopes that the churches will not just consult freemasonry's critics. "We have had no contact with the Methodist report, and this is a matter of some concern to me," he said.

That report will be a watershed in relations between the churches and the masonic lodges. It was requested by the Methodist Conference, the governing body of Britain's largest free church, after outspoken denunciations of masonic beliefs. It will precipitate a new debate when this year's conference meets in Birmingham in July.

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## Brecon runners picked

Christopher Butler, aged 24, political adviser to the Welsh Secretary, Mr Nicholas Edwards, has been selected as Conservative candidate in the Brecon and Radnor by-election.

The SDP/Liberal Alliance candidate is Mr Richard Livsey, a 50-year-old smallholder and lecturer in agriculture who contested the seat in 1983 for the Liberals. Mr Richard Willey, aged 40, 1983.

the son of Mr Fred Willey, the former Labour minister, will be the Labour Party's candidate. Pled Cyntu has yet to choose its candidate.

The by-election was caused by the death earlier this month of Mr Tom Hooson, who captured the seat for the Conservatives from Labour in 1979. He increased his majority over Labour to 8,784 in 1983.



Plans to attract private housing and commercial development reflect public spending cuts, reports Geoff Andrews



The statue of the Shropshire Giant (right) takes an Olympian view of whatever fate may befall the lake in Town Park

## Park under threat from themes and variations

A LARGE slice of parkland which is the centrepiece of a Midlands new town is being offered to developers for executive housing and a theme park.

The housing, on five sites around the edge of the 400-acre Town Park at Telford, Shropshire, will occupy many of the finest positions in the park, with two areas overlooking popular lakes.

The 33-acre recreation site, which includes another lake more than a quarter of a mile long, may also involve an area set aside for a BMX bike track for local children. A week ago Telford Tornadoes, the club which wants to develop the track, was given planning permission for the site for the next five years.

The local council's planning committee did not know that the track was involved in the proposals although a brochure showing it had been sent to potential developers as long ago as March by Telford Development Corporation.

The council promised a fortnight ago to provide earth-moving equipment to help Telford Tornadoes with preparation of the site so long as they finance the rest of the site.

Because of special procedures governing development in new towns, it is unlikely that either the housing or the park scheme will lead to a public inquiry. Together they could take more than 20 per cent of the Town Park out of free public use, claim local opponents. They might also cut off access to the most popular parts for many people living nearby.

Proposals for some kind of commercial development of a part of the park have been common knowledge in the town for over a year. Lord Northfield, chairman of the development corporation, has spoken warmly of the plan for a "mini-Alton Towers"—a reference to the large theme park in Staffordshire.

In fact, the brochure sent to potential developers—but not sent to the council committee which deals with planning procedures, or publicised widely—shows that a much larger area than has been considered before is being taken into the plan.

This includes the town's open air theatre; a children's fairytale playground, built as a Youth Opportunity Scheme project and opened only last year; the Randlake lake, popular with fishermen who have cleared and restocked its waters; a

steam tramway; and a site laid out for a pitch and putt golf course.

The brochure invites submissions from commercial investors and points out that the nearby M54 motorway means that the West Midlands conurbation as far as Coventry is within an hour's drive.

Behind the scheme lies the need to reduce spending in the new town in line with cuts being imposed on local authorities. Reductions in Telford have already slashed the level of public housing and turned attention towards building for private sale.

Plans to take a large part of town park out of free public use are part of these economies, partly because the development corporation is due to be wound up.

Mr Michael Osborn, deputy chairman of the corporation, says that about £2 million had been spent on the park. Because of limits on funding, alternative ways had to be found to bring in additional attractions and continue the scheme. Enclosures would be limited, and the BMX track would not be taken over, although it is in the development area.

One of the housing sites, already pegged out and advertised for sale, occupies the best sites around the banks of a tree-lined lake at the south of the park. The issue of private housing on the park, which the development corporation has said would raise less than £200,000, has been a matter of contention locally for about 18 months. A small but vocal group, HOOP ('Hands Off Our Park'), is canvassing opposition to this and to the theme park idea. Its secretary, Mrs Joan Noel, who moved to the town with her family 13 years ago from Walton on Thames, says that the park was a significant factor in persuading them to move.

Mrs Jo Hill, wife of a local vicar, who chairs the group, points to the minimal return for the scheme. "Considering how little they are getting back and the amount of other housing sites ready for development, it seems crazy."

"By the time they take account of the road they have built on the site, there will be no money in it and no savings either. Obviously the park is expensive to run. But if the cash is short it would be better to let more of it go to wilderness than to keep taking bites out of the best bits."

## Bypass bill is deplored

By Geoff Andrews

An attempt to overturn the decision of a committee of MPs and peers on a bypass route would be an "iniquitous manipulation of the law", it was claimed yesterday.

The Open Spaces Society, which led a number of environmental groups in a successful £50,000 protest over plans to build the A30 Okemhampton bypass through a medieval deer park in the Dartmoor national park, yesterday deplored the attempt by a local MP, Sir Peter Mills, and 100 other Conservatives, to seek a confirming decision of a committee of MPs and peers convened to hear the case.

After a 12-day hearing they decided in April that the road should not go ahead through the park but be built on agricultural land to the north of the town.

"Such a bill would be unprecedented and an iniquitous manipulation of the law," said Miss Kate Ashbrook, secretary of the Open Spaces Society. "We deplore attempts to steamroller the independent jurisdiction of a committee set up by Parliament."

"Instead of trying to subvert democratic procedures, MPs should press Government to proceed with a northern route outside the national park, as the committee recommended."

Miss Ashbrook added: "It has cost the objectors £50,000 to present their case to the committee, but we shall save Okemhampton Park, whatever the cost."

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	35	£9,699	£13,271	£37,465
	49	£4,702	£4,973	£7,781
£15	18	£30,105	£58,902	£361,253
	35	£14,858	£20,329	£57,392
	49	£7,203	£7,618	£11,919
£20	18	£40,557	£79,353	£473,209
	35	£20,017	£27,387	£77,320
	49	£9,704	£10,263	£16,057
£25	18	£51,010	£99,806	£595,175
	35	£25,176	£34,446	£97,248
	49	£12,205	£12,908	£20,195
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	35	£30,335	£41,505	£117,175
	49	£14,706	£15,553	£24,333

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Name (Mr/Mrs/Miss/Ms) \_\_\_\_\_ BLOCK CAPITALS PLEASE  
First Name(s) \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
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County \_\_\_\_\_ Postcode \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Birth: / / ☐ Male ☐ Female

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## Low pay 'drives midwives out of the profession'

By Penny Charleston

Midwifery is suffering an acute staff shortage, with only a quarter of trained midwives working in the profession.

The Royal College of Midwives—which represents most of the country's 27,000 practising midwives—is writing to every MP this week, explaining why 90,000 trained in the profession are not using their skills.

The director of labour relations at the RCM, Mr Michael Hill, wants the Government to increase midwives' pay by about 50 per cent.

About 16 per cent of vacancies are unfilled and the RCM says that the national shortage would be 24 per cent if staffing levels were more realistic.

Practising midwives "earn less during their 18 months' specialised training than other nurses and, once qualified still lag behind because their contemporaries will almost certainly have been promoted to sister level."

If a nurse spends a year training to be a health visitor, she not only earns more than a midwife while training, but earns a minimum of £7,978 a year after qualifying, compared with £5,598 for a midwife, says Mr Hill.

Lorraine Aquilana and Jacqui Payne are student midwives at Liverpool Maternity Hospital and they are seriously considering not practising the profession once their training is complete.

"All our former colleagues are now sisters and are earning much more than we are or will earn if we decide to use our midwifery skills," said Miss Payne.

Sheila McIlroy, an RCM labour relations officer, estimates that the Government, the health service, and the taxpayer are losing about £30,000 for each trained midwife not practising.

The Prime Minister is currently considering the recommendations of the nurses' pay review body and a statement is expected next month.

Greta Balfour, a former midwife who is now a labour relations officer at the RCM, says of the drop-out rate: "It there were no public demand for the midwives then it wouldn't matter, perhaps, but the whole trend is away from medical intervention and most mothers and their partners really want midwives in preference to doctors."

Mrs Balfour suggested that, if mothers-to-be knew how seriously short of midwives the NHS was they might think twice about agreeing to stay in hospital.

"The assumption is that if you are in hospital then you are going to be able to receive expert care if you need it. But in some instances you might well be better off going home Hospital and staying in bed with a telephone at your side, to summon help in the form of a trained midwife if you really need it."

Mr Hill.

Mr Hill.

Mr Hill.

Pictures by Denis Thorpe







## Pasok campaign taken to Salonika

The Greek passion for politics as street theatre gives little indication of Sunday's election result

From Campbell Page in Salonika

THE GREEN revolution came to Salonika at the weekend.

Green is the colour of the ruling Socialist party, Pasok, and the centre of Greece's second city was overlaid with scarves, banners, and posters as the Prime Minister and party leader, Mr Andreas Papandreu, prepared to deliver his campaign speech.

Small boats with that banner clustered in the harbour. Farmers in labouriously decorated farm trucks had rallied in from the countryside. Pasok assured the crowd that "the people will be victorious" and that "the people do not forget what the right stands for."

An old man wore a medal commemorating the great liberal politician, Venizelos, together with the insignia of Pasok. It meant that a supporter of early 20th century radicalism was recognising Pasok as the legitimate heir to the radical tradition in Greece. Other enthusiasts wore bright green scarves, carried green-banded canisters, or had cloaked themselves in party flags.

The crowd believed that the people had been on the march since Pasok first won power in 1981. The people's progress must not be checked in next Sunday's general election.

Greek politics still takes place in the streets and in the squares. Mobilisation is constant and competition means outnumbering the crowds rallied by the opposition.

A man from Mars who saw the meeting organised by the main opposition party, the Conservative New Democracy, in Salonika early this month, would not have concluded, after seeing such passion and such numbers, that New Democracy must win the election. He would have reached the opposite conclusion after seeing the Pasok rally on Saturday.

But the Greek predilection for politics as street theatre and the voters' willingness to turn out for the party leaders give little indication of the election result.

Despite its impressive mobilisation in Salonika, Pasok knows that the election will probably be very close. In 1981, Pasok, with 48 per cent of the vote — compared with New Democracy's 36 per cent — won a majority with 172 of the 300 seats in Parliament.

Last year, in the European elections, the gap between the two main parties closed to 2.5 per cent. It is widely believed that his election will have swung further to the opposition, while there has also been some loss of support for Pasok in the countryside.

New, private opinion polls and those organised by the parties point to one thing. If you allow for a margin of error of a few per cent, Pasok and New Democracy are running neck and neck, and no one can make a firm prediction of the result.

In Salonika, Mr Papandreu, hoarse from campaigning, gave a delighted and a minute speech. Any mention of the right, as the force which has monopolised power under different labels for so long, brought hoots and jeers as party activists signalled for a "secondo".

Salonika, where the left-wing deputy, Mr Gregory Lambrakis, died in mysterious circumstances in 1963, providing the basis of the film *Z*, is well versed in the demagoguery of left-right confrontation.

Any reference to progress and the need for a second four-year term to consolidate the achievements of the first term provoked cheers and a mass of waving hands.

The election campaign has been embittered by Mr Papandreu's dislike for the New Democracy leader, Mr Constantine Mitsotakis. He regards as traitors to the centre Union Party to which they both belonged before the 1987 military coup.

## Vice-President plans trip to London, Paris and Bonn

# Bush to woo Europeans on US Star Wars plan

From Alex Brummer in Washington

In an effort to bolster sagging Nato support for Star Wars, President Reagan is dispatching Vice-President George Bush to London and other European capitals early next month, diplomatic sources said here yesterday.

Mr Bush's role will be to emphasise the importance of the President's Strategic Defence Initiative to an increasingly sceptical audience and at the same time make the case in the strongest terms for European participation in the project.

The trip coincides with a new round of arms control talks in Geneva and a critical Nato meeting on Star Wars in Portugal early next month.

Diplomats here said that the trip should be seen in the broader context of the US Administration's desire to consult on transatlantic relations. But they acknowledged that Star Wars was uppermost on President Reagan's mind at present.

The President was apparently taken aback by the lukewarm support for Star Wars he heard at the Bonn summit.

It is hoped within the Administration that Mr Bush can repeat his successful trip to Europe of almost two years ago, when he was sent by President Reagan to build support for the deployment of cruise and Pershing II missiles, and the then US position at the arms control talks in Geneva.

Mr Bush will probably start his trip in London and will also travel to West Germany, France, Belgium, and Holland. In the latter two countries, the main concern is likely to be medium range missile systems as much as Star Wars. The US is being "billed by the Administration as a combination of education and hand-holding."

The Vice-President leaves for Europe at a time when Star Wars will again be making headlines in the US. After last week's decision in the Senate to lift the ban on testing of anti-satellite systems, critical decisions will have to be taken shortly on the size of the 1986 anti-radar missile system. The Administration has asked for some \$3.6 billion, a figure which has already been savaged in the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives.

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Any links, however, were purely speculative and Mr van der Laan refused to give more details. Speaking by telephone from his home, he confirmed that the Turk was arrested on May 14.

He was entering the country by train from West Germany carrying a loaded Browning automatic pistol. The man, aged about 25, gave his name as Samet Aslan although his identity papers appeared to be false.

The pistol was similar to the one used by his fellow-Turk, Agca, in the near-fatal attack on the Pope in St Peter's Square on May 13, 1981. Agca, already gaoled for life in Italy, is one of eight men who will go on trial in Rome today accused of conspiring to kill the Pope.

Aslan was arrested during a routine check. Eighteen leading Greek left-wing personalities yesterday called for the immediate release of Sergei Antonov, a Bulgarian charged with involvement in the attempted murder of the Pope.

## Rightists accuse government of 'using Victor Hugo' (right) to bolster image

# French celebrate their literary genius

From Stanley Meisler in Paris

FOR FRANCE, 1985 is officially "the year of Victor Hugo." The romantic novelist, poet, playwright, and polemicist died 100 years ago, and the French are celebrating the anniversary with performances, readings, lectures, a new edition of his complete works, and a commemorative stamp.

The Ministry of Culture is even sponsoring a T-shirt with the design of a youth on his knees looking upward and crying out: "Hugo, you're the tops."

That kind of excitement about a writer would be hard to duplicate elsewhere in the world. It reflects the awe and reverence of the French for great authors, and it reflects as well the way Hugo, French writer of the 19th century, made himself the social conscience of his people.

His furious tirades against injustice, like those in his famous novel *Les Misérables*, still strike a chord today.

In fact the official designation of 1985 as the year of Victor Hugo by a socialist government strikes some French conservatives as self-serving. They suspect that the Socialists intend to improve their own image by associating themselves with Victor Hugo.

Even on the left there is some uneasiness with the celebrations. "A hundred years after his death, what are we celebrating?" a critic, Mr Jean-Marie Thibaudet asked in the left-wing newspaper, *Liberation*.

"Neither a man nor his work, but an icon. We are celebrating a mythology. It is hard, however, for the French to find any fault with celebrating Victor Hugo. Starting with their earliest school days, every

death, several thousand admirers paid homage to him at a ceremony in the auditorium of Sorbonne university. Actors read poems and essays and pieces of plays. An official of the Victor Hugo Commemoration Committee then introduced the main speaker, the Minister of Justice, Mr Robert Badinter, a civil rights lawyer who was brought into his post by President Mitterrand after the 1981 electoral victory.

The choice of speaker was symbolic. Mr Badinter personifies the government that abolished capital punishment and thus ended the use of the guillotine. For many conservatives, Mr Badinter reflects the image they have of a fuzzy-thinking, soft-hearted, liberal socialist attitude towards social problems.

But for many others, especially leftwingers, Mr Badinter has a different image. In the tradition of Victor Hugo, he is looked on as a courageous battler against injustice.

Mr Badinter described Hugo as "the battler against the violent injustices of our justice."

"He, more than any other public figure of his century, was the champion and hero of a justice that would be more humane, more fraternal than that of his time," he said. —Los Angeles Times.

## Yeshua cult pulsates to Hebrew chant

Messianic Jewish congregations are growing like wildfire. Alex Brummer, in Philadelphia, assesses the phenomenon

ON FRIDAY nights, the traditional start of the Jewish Sabbath, several hundred young Philadelphians gather in a converted restaurant in the Overbrook district, a mile or so from the MOVE Headquarters.

The men wear skullcaps and beards, and some show the fringes associated with orthodox Jews, while the women are clad in pretty frocks, or Israeli costumes.

The low ceiling-beamed room is generously decorated with the blue star of the Shield of David and the pulpit is adorned with a velvet cloth carrying the same symbol.

Every Friday, the room resounds with the chant of Hebrew and the sound of tambourines, as a vibrant congregation recites the Sabbath blessings over the wine and challah with expressions of blank ecstasy on their faces.

In the classrooms below, children learn Hebrew and, once a month, the congregation will gather on a Saturday to celebrate a Barmitzva, the ritual Jewish introduction of a child to manhood and the fulfilment of the Commandments.

Despite all the outward symbols of Judaism, congregation Beth Yeshua, located in the heart of Philadelphia's large and thriving Jewish community, is not as it is described in the yellow pages, a synagogue. Beth Yeshua is a "House of Jesus" where largely Jewish-origin population gathers to proclaim Jesus as the Messiah.

It is one of three such "Messianic Jewish" congregations in Philadelphia alone, one of 80 nationwide and they are growing like wildfire. The US has an estimated 50,000 self-proclaimed believers — threatening the fabric, through the Jews for Jesus missions, of perhaps the most assimilated Jewish communities in the world.

Philadelphia has been a melting pot of religious fervour and Nonconformism since the earliest days of the American colonies. Just a few miles away, in rural Lancaster County, dwell the Amish and Mennonite remnants of a past era of European Protestantism.

The city is home to Mordechai Kaplan's reconstructionist theories of Judaism, has a strong Presbyterian presence, and for some 50 years its Messianic Jewish centre (with the apparent support of the Presbyterian) has openly sought to proselytise Jews from its quarters on Chestnut Street, in the heart of the town. In recent years, the city has also spawned such interdenominational congregations as "The Living God," attended by Christians and Jews.

Despite Philadelphia's eclectic taste in churches, the city is deeply anguished about Congregation Beth Yeshua, its lack of serious religious content, and reports from dissident members of the effort by its pastors to control the lives of members.

"It is Christianity masquerading as Judaism," remarked Dr Steve Dunning, of the University of Pennsylvania, after attending a Friday night service. Dr Dunning, who teaches at the religious studies department,

suggested that the authority structure at Beth Yeshua was a tendency towards the congregation becoming a cult.

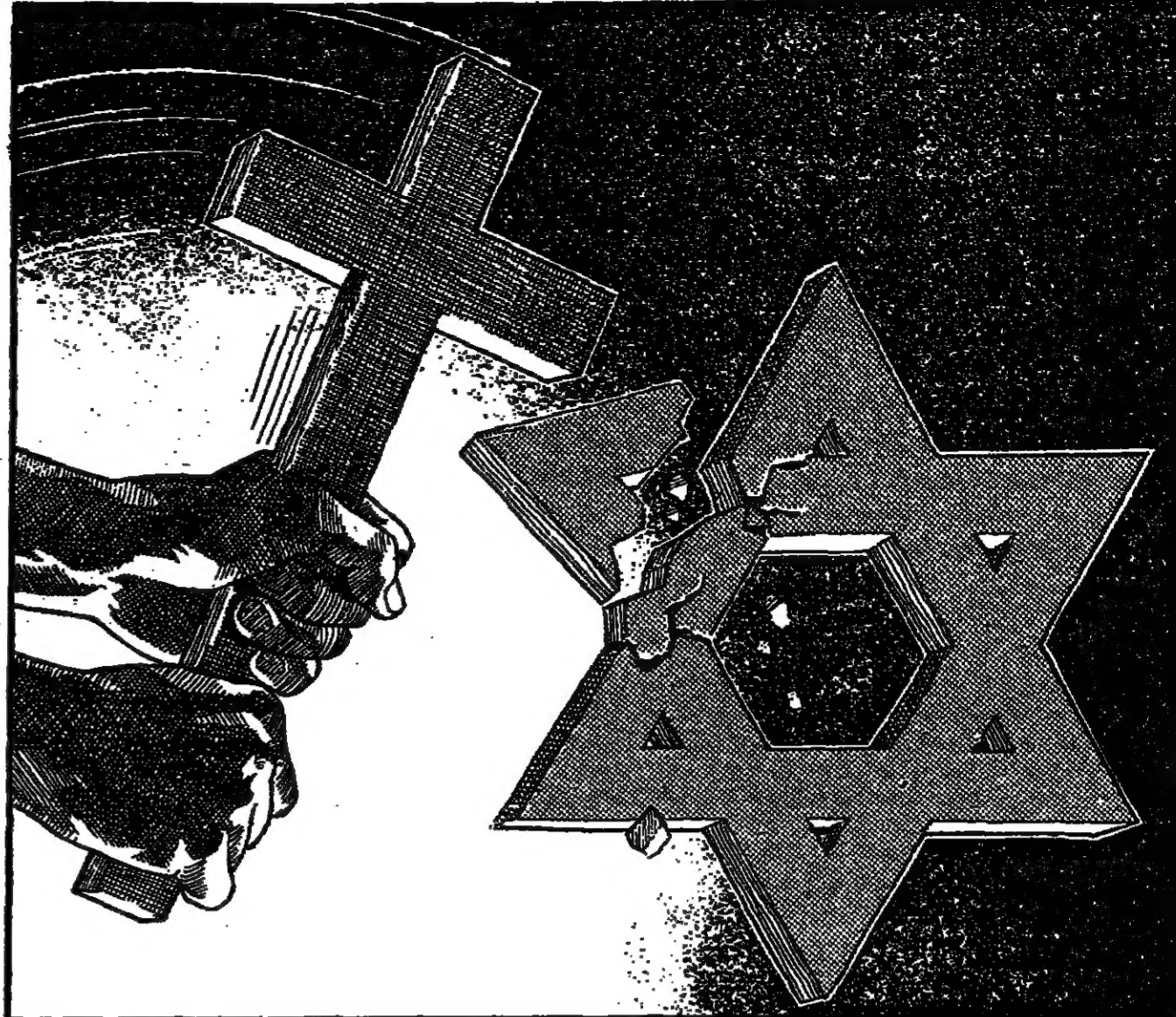
Not surprisingly, the presence of Beth Yeshua in the heart of a Jewish suburb and the grip it has managed to exert over its youthful congregants has alarmed Jews across the country.

In Philadelphia, Beth Yeshua is the subject of frequent demonstrations, and the Jewish community has appointed its own missionary to counter the group's propaganda. "We're concerned because these groups will not stop at anything to ensure a Jewish soul," one Jewish missionary argued.

The Christian denomination is equally disturbed. Mr David McMillan, of the elegant Overbrook Presbyterian Church, regards the activities of Beth Yeshua as dangerous. He and other Christian pastors were asked informally by the Metropolitan Council of Churches to prepare a statement expressing their distaste for Beth Yeshua's activities.

Mr McMillan, an intellectual, says that the congregation sells the notion that you "don't have to convert to be Christian," which he regards as deceitful.

He argues that, "because of the Holocaust, the Christians have no right to evangelise the Jew." Having attended Friday night services as an observer, he believes that the congregation is peddling a kind of "pop psychology" which appeals to the uncertain lost souls it attracts through "endless dancing."



GRAPHICS: PETER CLARKE

Even Mr Herb Links, whose own city centre Messianic Jewish congregation is out to convert Jews, finds the practices at Beth Yeshua "an embarrassment" to the cause. In his own Sunday services, which include some Jewish prayers — the early verses of the "Shema," the proclamation of God's oneness — he makes a point of being open and clear from the pulpit about the congregation's commitment to Jesus Christ as the Messiah.

Beth Yeshua's pastor, Mr Michael Chernoff, came to Philadelphia 10 years ago and is said by former members to rule the congregation with an iron rod. Cecilia Toth, a partly Jewish believer who will graduate from the University of Pennsylvania this summer, decided to leave when the pastor's wife sought to interfere in her relationship with a male member of the congregation.

She describes the congregation as an "aberrant example of Messianic Judaism in which the pastor has taken on more authority than permitted."

Neil Altman, who was among Beth Yeshua's founding families, says that he and his wife left because they "smelt a rat" and are now attending a conservative synagogue, although they retain their belief in the Messiah.

The visitor at Friday night services quickly understands Mr Altman's reservations. After being searched for a tape recorder and camera, going in was shown to a seat by my handler, Yossi, a pleasant young man who reminded me at frequent intervals of the accomplishments of the community.

The services are, however, a triumph of form over substance. In charge is the sick son of the pastor, David Chernoff, wearing his fashionable double-breasted light grey suit with bright red tie. He lounges on a bench behind a stage like some ancient potentate.

In front of him, a band of young men, dressed in dark suits, play a variety of instruments, including a double bass, a drum set, and a keyboard. The music is a mix of Jewish and contemporary styles.

Then in the midst of all this ferment of a high-kicking Hora, a woman, dressed up like the Hollywood movie stars might imagine the Jewish mother of old with a fine lace veil drawn over her head, thrusts the sabbath candles dedicating them in Hebrew not to the Old Testament God, but to Yeshua, the Messiah. It is a totally incongruous act in what has essentially become a charismatic Christian service.

The climax of this 180-minute extravaganza is a Bible teach-in by Chernoff the Younger who believes that the best way of convincing his audience of the "foundation" which God provides is by telling a few jokes. It is a confident, if unenlightening, performance, carried off with all the aplomb and pyrotechnics of the television evangelist.

Beneath the veneer of fellowship and good feeling, which the Beth Yeshua worship provides, there do appear to be more sinister forces at work. One former church member, writing in the Jewish Exponent, said that people are "definitely intimidated through spiritual manipulation... it's all in the tradition of totalitarian mind control." It is more than that.

Cecilia Toth, a woman of partly Gentile background, was affronted when the pastor's wife sought to break up her relationship with a Jewish church member. Similarly, Beth Yeshua increasingly insists that congregants live near the Overbrook building. It is such control over members' social and personal lives, as well as their worship, which academics generally ascribe to cults in the making.

The growth of Beth Yeshua, the nationally run Jews for Jesus campaign, and Messianic Judaism in general is partly a function of the rise of religious Fundamentalism in the US. Many Fundamentalists have come to believe that Christ will make his Second Coming at Armageddon.

In their view, biblical prophecy has already been fulfilled in the establishment of the state of Israel, a cause they support with the same devotion as the Jewish Zionists. But some time, nearly 2,000 years ago, Christianity lost its way. For the Second Coming to take place, God's chosen people, the Jews, have to become true believers along with the Gentiles. As a result, they have been funding the evangelical assault on America's Jewish young.

Autocratic ways of new sect bring protest in Philadelphia

There is much yelling of praise to the Lord in charismatic, Pentecostal style. At times, there is a flirtation with Gospel chanting and "speaking in tongues," the exclamation of praise in odd languages in the manner of the chapter two of the book of Acts in the New Testament.

Traditional believers are disturbed by the new group's activities

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French child is familiar with the portrait of the thick-bearded, white-haired, Olympian writer, a hand slipping beneath his jacket like that of Napoleon, a finger thoughtfully tapping his head. He is the grandfathers of France, the conscience of France, all in a single image.

The Government has distributed thousands of copies of a booklet that lists 70 pages of Hugo events going on somewhere in France during the year. That galaxy of commemorations is not surprising. The Socialists, running France today, "thrust" about as the heirs of Victor Hugo.

On Wednesday, the day that actually marked the 100th anniversary of Hugo's

**DEMOCRATIC AND POPULAR  
REPUBLIC OF ALGERIA**

**MINISTRY OF ENERGY AND CHEMICAL  
AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES**

**NATIONAL OIL WELL COMPANY (E.N.T.P.)**

**NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL  
INVITATION TO TENDER**

**No 9160.AY/DIV**

The National Oil Well Company is launching a National and International Call to tender for the supply of:

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- Lot No 2 — Laboratory for the preparation of test tubes
- Lot No 3 — Laboratory for mechanical and metallographic tests
- Lot No 4 — Laboratory for chemical analysis
- Lot No 5 — Metrology laboratory
- Lot No 6 — Tool machines
- Lot No 7 — Bench for running in tests and checks on internal combustion engines
- Lot No 8 — A stand for descaling radiators and engine blocks.

This call to tender is addressed to production companies only to the exclusion of sub-contractors, company representatives and other intermediaries in accordance with the provisions of law No 78-02 of 11 February 1978 concerning the State Monopoly on Foreign Trade.

Those tenderers who are interested in this call for tenders may obtain specifications, on payment of 400.00 Algerian dinars, from the following address: Entreprise Nationale des Travaux aux Puits (E.N.T.P.) 16 Route de Meftah — Qued Smar — El Harrach — Alger — Algeria (Direction des Approvisionnements), as from the date of publication of this notice.

Tender drawn up in five (5) copies should be sent by registered post in double sealed envelope to the Secretariat of the Direction Approvisionnement to the above address.

The outer envelope should be strictly anonymous, with no company insignia, but stating: "Appel d'Offres National et International No 9160.AY/DIV — Confidential — a ne pas ouvrir".

All offers must arrive by Saturday, 13 July 1985 at the latest.

Selection will be made within 180 days from the closing of this call to tender.



Arab league to seek Russian help in halting arms supplies

## Iranian jets hit back after Iraqis raid Tehran

Bahrain: Iran said that its fighter-bombers attacked the Iraqi town of Al-Amarah yesterday in retaliation for a series of air-raids and missile attacks on Iranian cities. The planes all returned safely to their bases, the Iranian national news agency, Irna, said.

Earlier, Iraq launched air-raids and missile attacks on Iranian cities in a sudden escalation of the 56-month-old Gulf war. Iran threatened to strike back against Baghdad.

The flare-up came as an Arab League delegation, due in Moscow yesterday for talks on the Iran-Iraq war, was expected to press for a halt to Soviet-made arms reaching Iran from Libya and North Korea.

Diplomats in Moscow said that the seven-country delegation, entrusted by the League to seek a diplomatic solution to the conflict, would meet the foreign minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, today. It was not yet known whether it would see the party leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

After a night air-raid on Tehran, which Iran said killed at least six people, and a later raid on the western city of Haman, the Iraqis sent waves of fighter-bombers against six Iranian towns, according to an Iraqi communiqué.

The Iraqis then fired long-range missiles into the western Iranian towns of Bakhran (formerly Kermanshah) and Isfahabad-Gharb in the early afternoon, destroying "selected targets," the communiqué said.

Iran confirmed most of the attacks but said they were against residential areas. At least six people died in the Tehran raid, Iran said, but it was too early to know the casualty toll from the missile attacks.

The Iraqi communiqué said waves of between four and 10 fighter-bombers hit "selected targets" in the Iranian towns of Sar-e-Pol-e-Zahab, Guilan-e

Gharb and Dehloran as well as military bases in Baneh, Khaman and Marivan. It did not specify what the "selected targets" were.

After the Tehran raid, Iran threatened to attack Baghdad in retaliation as each side accused the other of being behind recent bombings in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Iraq accused Iran of being involved in the murder attempt on the Emir of Kuwait on Saturday, when a suicide car bomber rammed into Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah's motorcade, killing him and three other people. The Emir escaped with only scratches.

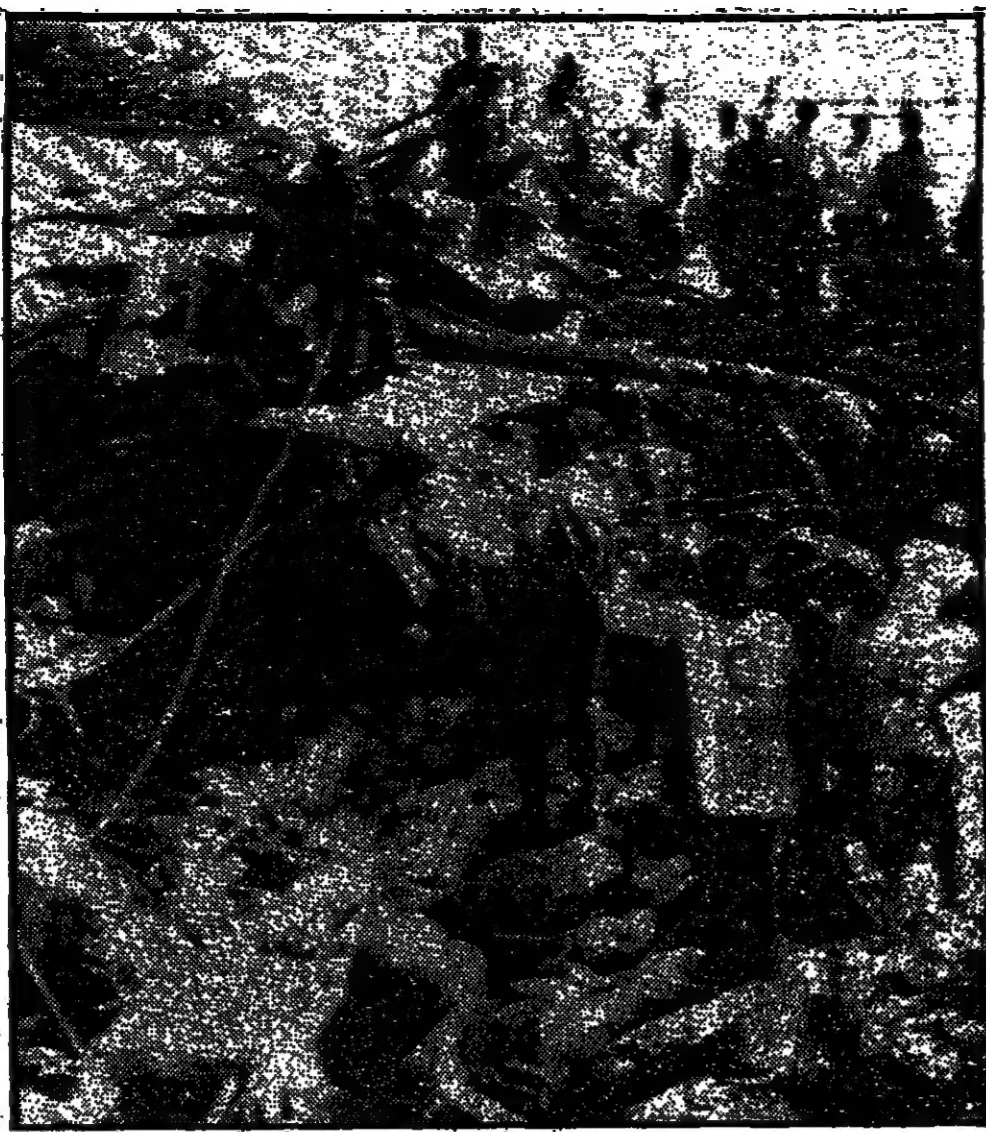
Iran, meanwhile, charged that Baghdad was behind bomb explosions which killed one person in Riyadh, last Sunday while the Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister, Prince Saud al-Faisal, was visiting Tehran.

He was the first Saudi minister to go to Iraq since the 1979 Islamic revolution, and the Tehran war information headquarters said that Iraq staged the bombings to warn Saudi Arabia against developing closer ties with Iran.

Yesterday's Iraqi air-raids were the first since early April, when a month-long wave of air-raids and missile strikes that left hundreds dead both sides of the border eased off.

The Iranian Prime Minister, Mr. Musavi, told Iran that Iran has repeatedly "punched the US in the mouth" and is ready to do so again. "The US should know that we are capable of turning the Persian Gulf into a bog where the US will sink."

Mr. Musavi noted that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had claimed to oppose attacks during the last 10 months of the war, but had then gone ahead with yesterday's raids, Reuters/AP.



Rescuers search for bodies in Tehran after the Iraqi raid

## Kuwait reopens border after bomber fails to kill Emir

Kuwait: The Government reopened the country's borders yesterday as security forces sought to identify a suicide car bomber who failed in a murder attempt on the country's ruler at the weekend.

Four people, including the attacker, were killed when he crashed his car, laden with explosives, into the Emir's motorcade on the city waterfront. The Emir, Sheikh Jaber al-Ahmed al-Sabah, aged 58, escaped with scratches from flying glass.

A government spokesman, Mr. Rashid al-Rashid, said that

the cabinet yesterday reviewed the situation, and an emergency security committee led by the Interior Minister, Mr. Nawaf al-Ahmed al-Sabah, discussed clues to the identity of the bomber.

Al-Qabas newspaper reported that a number of people had been rounded up in the Iraq-Iran war, with Iraqi air and missile attacks on Kuwait centres. Baghdad said that it was in retaliation for what it called Tehran's involvement in the murder attempt.

After closing its borders to non-Kuwaitis after the attack, the government lifted its ban on entering or leaving the country. Mr. al-Rashid said, however, that temporary measures would allow the government to stop some people from leaving.

An anonymous caller claiming to represent the Islamic Jihad (Holy War) group, which is demanding the release of prisoners held in Kuwait, the involvement in bomb blasts two years ago in the Gulf state, has claimed responsibility for the attack, Reuters.

## Guerrillas step up attacks in south Lebanon

Israel's allies hit as troops prepare for final withdrawal

From Ian Black in Metuliah

Guerrilla attacks are increasing against the Israeli allies left behind to prevent incursions across the border, as Israeli troops prepare for their final withdrawal.

In the past week, guerrillas have struck several times at the South Lebanon Army, led by General Antoine Lahad, from the Christian town of Marjayoun, and at the village militia set up in the narrow border strip that the Israelis have designated as their security zone.

One SLA soldier was killed and two others injured, one seriously, when their patrol came under fire from automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades in the village of Majdal Salim, within the security zone, early yesterday morning.

Another SLA patrol came under fire in the Shiite village of Al-Kham, just across the valley from the Israeli border town of Metuliah.

Beirut radio reported last night that SLA artillery units were shelling Shiite villages near the market town of Nabatiyeh and that the SLA was demanding that the residents abandon their homes. A number of houses were destroyed, the radio said.

According to some assessments, the final stage of the Israeli troop withdrawal is likely to take place this week, several days before the official government deadline for the completion of the three-stage pullout.

Over the last few days, while fighting has raged in Beirut, a number of villages in the Jezreel area, just to the north of the security zone, have been evacuated by the Israelis and turned over to the SLA.

General Lahad, whose forces beat back the combined Shiite-Druse attack west of Jezreel earlier this month, have been trying to persuade the Israelis to guarantee continuity between the Christian town and the security zone, but the Israelis are thought to be resisting this.

The government in Jerusalem has said that the pullback will be over by June 5, the third anniversary of the start of the war in 1982, and that no Israeli troops will remain permanently in Lebanon after then.

Military sources say, however, that the final stage of the withdrawal will not be clear cut. Like the first Israeli troop pullback from the Sidon area, and then, last month, from the front lines opposite the Syrian army in the Beza'a valley and the heavily populated Shiite area around the port city of Tyre.

This crucial difference is borne out by local security sources and observation of Israeli movements and dispositions in the border area.

There has already been a good deal of official ambiguity from the politicians and the military about how totally the withdrawal will be implemented.

The Defence Minister, Mr. Yitzhak Rabin, has spoken of "backing" for the SLA and occasional patrols in the area. Some Israeli military installations—and therefore some personnel—are going to stay put for the time being.

It is not clear exactly who has been responsible for the recent attacks against the SLA and the militias. Israeli military sources say that the main stream Shiite Amal movement is now in effective control of the area north of the security zone, and has a strong hold on Nabatiyeh and Tyre.

The Israelis are encouraged by the fact that Amal has been widely preventing Palestinian fighters, from the mainstream Fatah organisation and the Syrian-backed rebels of the Abu Musa group, from returning to the south.

They say—and other independent observers allow for a degree of wishful thinking in this assessment—that the series of recent attacks have come from "extremists" who have managed to bypass Amal forces.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Safety net for stray jets

THE US, the Soviet Union and Japan have been holding talks on air safety in an effort to prevent incidents such as the downing in 1983 of a Soviet fighter, the New York Times said yesterday.

The newspaper, quoting US officials, said some progress had been made in the latest talks, which ended on Friday in Moscow. Earlier talks were held in February in Tokyo and in Washington in March.

The talks were aimed at obtaining assurances that stray civilian planes would not be shot down and that all efforts would be made to improve communications between the three countries, the Times said. The State Department had no comment on the report.—Reuters.

### Frontier pledge

THE West German Interior Minister, Mr. Friedrich Zimmermann, said yesterday that Germany would not mean that Bonn recognised their post-war boundaries. Ratification of present frontiers would have to wait the signing of a peace treaty between the four former occupying powers—the US, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France—and a reunited Germany, he said.—Reuters.

### French missing

TWO Frenchmen disappeared in Mualim, West Beirut shortly after arriving from Paris and are thought to have been kidnapped, colleagues said yesterday. Jean-Paul Kaufmann, a journalist for the Paris-based weekly L'Espresso, and Jean-Louis Michel, a French researcher, were last seen on Wednesday. Eight other Westerners abducted on the past 14 months are still missing.—Reuters.

### Hunter ejected

THE Nam hunter, Beat Klarsfeld, searching for death-camp doctor Josef Mengele in Paraguay, says she has been thrown out of her hotel in the capital, Asuncion, for "agitating the Paraguayan people." Newspapers there and in the Chilean capital, Santiago, published advertisements offering \$2,375,000 for information on the whereabouts of Mengele, said by Paraguay to have left the country years ago.—Reuters.

### 'Spy' flown back

THE US Navy has flown the accused sailor spy, 22-year-old Seaman Michael Walker, to the US to face charges that he had handed over to his father, a retired Navy officer, top secret military documents for the Soviet Union. FBI agents took the sailor, who was on board the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier USS Nimitz in Israel, to an undisclosed destination.—Reuters.

### Dallas suit

DONNA REED, replaced by Barbara Bel Geddes as the long suffering Miss Ellie in the television series Dallas, is suing the makers for \$8.6 million in damages and salary losses because of the slandering of her character. A Los Angeles judge refused at the weekend a request by the 63-year-old actress's lawyers to issue a temporary order banning the filming of scenes in which Miss Ellie appears.—Reuters.

### Goldsmith truce

CROWN Zellerbach yesterday gave a seat on its board of directors to Sir James Goldsmith as part of an apparent truce in the British financier's long and bitter battle against the big San Francisco-based forest products company. The two sides also announced a suspension of all litigation between them.—Reuters.

### Curbs going

TURKEY's national security council yesterday recommended the lifting of martial law in six provinces, including Ankara, as part of the gradual ending of curbs since elections in 1983. But it proposed extending martial law for four months in 17 other provinces from July 19.—AP.

### Basques strike

BASQUE separatist guerrillas yesterday burned down a French-owned supermarket in the northern Spanish city of Zaragoza, causing widespread damage but no injuries. But police said guerrillas shot dead a policeman in Bilbao.—Reuters.

### Volcano alert

US scientists have issued a volcano alert at Mount St Helens, south-east of Seattle, warning that an eruption of relatively minor force was expected soon. The warning came five years after 80 people died in a violent eruption.—Reuters.

## Talks on commandos rejected

Las Vegas: The Angolan Foreign Minister, Mr. Alfonso van Dunen, has rejected a South African call for quick negotiations over the return of a South African commando unit captured at an oil complex in northern Angola.

The false and deceitful position of South Africa towards Angola has once again come to light in this ignominious plan to sabotage the oil complex at Malongo in Cabinda," Mr. Van Dunen said in a speech at weekend ceremonies marking the twenty-second anniversary of the founding of the Organisation of African Unity.

"We hereby express our most vehement condemnation of this vile act... a shameful plan (South African authorities) could not deny," the Minister said. He demanded an explanation from South Africa.

"The Angolan government notes that it has not received any proposal from South Africa and has no intention of discussing this question within the next few days," he said.

Two South African commandos were killed in an ambush near the Malongo complex last Tuesday and a third was injured. The Angolan Defence Ministry later announced that provisions for nine had been recovered by Angolan troops at the scene, leading them to believe that six other commandos may have escaped.

The South African Foreign Minister, Mr. P. Botha, last week called for direct negotiations with the Angolans for the return of the bodies of the two dead commandos and the release of their captured colleague.

Meanwhile, three South African blacks were killed and 11 other people, including two white women, were injured during widespread overnight unrest in black townships, police said in Johannesburg yesterday. A spokesman said a black policeman attacked by rioters in Tembisa township north of Johannesburg used his pistol to kill one and injure another before he was stabbed to death.

In Welkom, Orange Free State province, a policeman investigating a robbery killed a 25-year-old black who pelted him with stones and attempted to stab him.

At a township near Oudshoorn in Cape Province, seven black children and a man were hurt when arsonists set their house on fire, the spokesman added. Police arrested 38 township residents after using rubber bullets and tear gas to disperse protesters.

The two white women were hurt when rioters stoned vehicles travelling near Bontrug township in the Cape.

Rioting was also reported from Natal Province, which has been relatively quiet over the past year of unrest. The spokesman said five houses were set on fire at a township near Durban.—Reuters/AP.

## Gandhi returns from Moscow as all police leave cancelled

From Eric Silver in New Delhi

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, returned home from Moscow yesterday to a capital where all police leave has been cancelled for the next two weeks to combat terrorism.

It is almost a year since the assault on the Sikh holy sites, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, by Sikh extremists have threatened to mar the occasion with terrorist attacks. Public meetings of more than five people have been banned and police reserves have been mobilised.

The anniversary falls next Monday. The army and police have already been put on full alert in the Sikh-majority state of Punjab where reinforcements have also been drafted.

There has been no repetition of the bombings that killed 45 civilians here and another 40 elsewhere in Northern India two weeks ago, but the police are still detaining Sikh suspects and persistent charges of brutal interrogation methods.

A second young man, Mohinder Singh, died in custody on Friday. A police spokesman said that he had hanged himself with his turban wrapping after being escorted to the lavatory.

In Punjab, the relatively

moderate Sikh leader, Mr. Harchand Singh Longowal, last night withdrew his resignation as president of the Akali Dal party. This gives veteran politicians a chance to fight back against the take-over of the main Sikh party by Mr. Jopinder Singh, the 33-year-old father of the "martyr", Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale who died when the army stormed the Golden Temple.

Mr. Longowal at first resisted all efforts to persuade him to stay on, but yielded when 22 district Akali elders visited him in his home village and presented him with the ultimatum: "Take a gun and shoot us or accept the presidency."

It is not known, however, whether Mr. Longowal can now reassert his authority which has waned since he surrendered in the Golden Temple last year instead of going down fighting.

If not, there can be little prospect of a peaceful settlement to Sikh grievances in the foreseeable future. The government cannot seal an agreement without the Akalis either.

Caste and communal violence rumbles on in the western state of Gujarat with nightly reports of stabbings

and murder. A six-year-old girl was killed in Ahmedabad on Saturday night when a police bullet, said to have been fired in self-defence, penetrated the closed door of her house.

Beena Jhala was playing with her younger brother in their two-room tenement. According to a senior police officer the shot had been fired to disperse a mob stealing a patrol 100 yards away. Another mob set fire to a post office in Ahmedabad yesterday after the girl's funeral.

Pressure is growing here for an Indian initiative to help solve the ethnic conflict that is going from bad to worse in neighbouring Sri Lanka.

Mr. Gandhi was asked on his return from Moscow about speculation that he was planning an early meeting with President Jaganmohan Reddy. He replied that he would have to discuss the matter with his officials first.

Sri Lankan diplomats hinted yesterday that a decision would be announced in the next two or three days. According to Indian press reports, Mr. Jayawardene wants a meeting somewhere in South India rather than in Delhi. Mr. Gandhi leaves for a tour of America, France, Egypt, and Algeria on June 1, which leaves very little time.

The Government has strongly denied reports from residents in eastern areas a week ago that more than 60 Tamil civilians had been killed by commandos.—Reuters.

## Inquiry on Tamil victims

Colombo: Sri Lankan authorities said yesterday that at least 31 civilians were killed in clashes between troops and separatist Tamil guerrillas in the north-east, a government spokesman said yesterday.

Eight civilians were reported to have been killed near Pankulam town, about 10 miles west of the north-eastern city of Trincomalee.

"They were alleged to have been killed by men dressed in army uniforms," according to the Sunday Observer newspaper.

Earlier, the chairman of the

Trincomalee citizens' committee said that reports of a shot dead at least five Tamil civilians at the Nilaveli tourist resort north of Trincomalee.

He said men in khaki and blue uniforms, believed to be members of the armed forces, killed seven Tamil civilians, including one of his sons last Thursday.

Two of the bodies were missing and the remaining five were handed over to relatives after an autopsy.

The government spokesman said the reports were being investigated but he knew of no civilian deaths in the area in the past few days.

He said that the "terrorists" fighting for a Tamil state had been killed in two encounters with security forces at Nilaveli last Wednesday and Thursday.

In Colombo, police and troops searched homes in several mainly Tamil areas at the weekend and held more than 200 people for questioning. Most of them were later released.

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## Assembly goes on offensive

From Alex Brodie in Islamabad

PAKISTAN's first elected National Assembly in eight years has gone straight into the offensive against martial law and demanded that it be lifted.

Several motions declaring martial law a breach of parliamentary privilege were tabled and accepted by the Speaker, and the Prime Minister who has been told that the assembly expects him to announce in the next week or so a firm timetable for the end of military rule.

Yesterday's session of the National Assembly was the first chance for the members to show their teeth. Several wanted to put motions that martial law was a violation of privilege, but the Law Minister said they were out of order.

However, the Speaker, Mr. Fakhar Imam, cited historical precedent, some from 17th century England, to demonstrate the right of a directly elected assembly to control all financial aspects of the state, including spending on martial law, whose "objectives and purposes are not approved by or under the control of this House."

It was decided to set up a privilege committee that would discuss the matter and report back within a week and a full airing of anti-martial law sentiment is in prospect.

Earlier most members met the Prime Minister and told him that vague promises of lifting martial law in months were not enough. They expected him to announce a firm timetable and they expected it this session.

The Prime Minister said that martial law and a civilian government could not co-exist for long—a remark which was couched in the television account of his speech.



Students being pushed by plain clothes police on to a bus in Seoul, South Korea, yesterday after occupying the US information library for three days. The students demanded that the US stop supporting President Chun's government.

## Miners' deaths cast a shadow on Philippines rush for gold

From TR Linsner in Mindanao Philippines

IN THE plains, rice fields lie untended, schools lack teachers, and municipal workers have deserted their offices. Shops have been turned over to ageing women relatives.

Tens of thousands of Filipinos have abandoned traditional livelihoods and headed for the mountains to answer perhaps the oldest and most irresistible call to fortune seekers—gold.

In the past year, a shanty town, housing 70,000 to 100,000 people, has sprung up on a forested hillside in Davao del Norte Province in

the southern island of Mindanao. Exactly how many people live in the array of tumbledown shacks and hunkies is impossible to know.

Just how much gold is claimed from the earth by men using hammers and chisels, or panned from nearby streams is incalculable. But Mr. Diwata is a boom town in stark contrast to the economic depression gripping most of the rest of the Philippines.

"I make more money here than I did teaching," said 47-year-old Gerardo Daquio, "but I don't like this place. It's dangerous and we're

struggling every minute. There are every kind of people here. But as long as there is still gold and we can have a good income, we will stay."

It was announced yesterday that 12 people panning for gold were killed and about 30 others were feared buried alive when three makeshift mountain tunnels collapsed in heavy rain in southern Davao del Norte province.

Colonel Jesse Hernandez, the military's Davao area deputy commander for operations, said that about 100 people armed with picks, spades, and other hand tools were trying to rescue the

gold panners believed to be trapped under rocks and earth since last Wednesday.

Most miners earn 60-100 pesos a day (\$3-\$5). The minimum pay for the agricultural jobs many left behind was only 15 pesos (80p) a day, and others were simply unemployed.

Mr. Diwata is popularly known as "Santi-Diwata". Santi is for St. John and Diwata is for the local dialect, "divalwal" means "with your tongue hanging out." Before a tortuously winding dirt road was cut to the mile-high mining

area, the only way up was a day-long climb.

Makeshift wooden buildings line the city's main street, a three-mile-long lane usually no more than six feet wide. More ramshackle structures cling precariously to the mountainside.

Labourers stoop under large timbers, shouting for others to give way. Behind it, 34 hours a day, is the roar of diesel engines and the sound of gold ore being crushed.

But for all the surface activity, the real work is underground. "For every man you see here," a miner said, "there are three people

working underground."

The ore scooped from hundreds of tunnels is broken up manually, then milled and shipped. Gold dust in the water is retrieved by amalgamating it with mercury in pans, then melting the mercury out with blow torches. The extraction process is crude and the product impure.

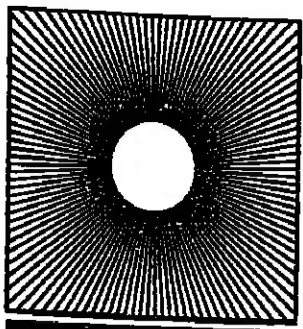
On conservative estimates, 300 men have died underground over the past year.

But thousands still descend daily through unventilated, candlelit shafts and tunnels which honeycomb the mountain for night hours breaking labour.

But for all the surface activity, the real work is underground. "For every man you see here," a miner said, "there are three people



## Exploring the spectrum that illuminates belief



## FACE TO FAITH

John York

IT IS SAD that in the public mind recently questions of intellectual belief seem to have become detached from the whole nexus of prayer, action, commitment and community to which they properly belong.

The point was made to me with brutal directness by a TV interviewer, quizzing me in preparation for a possible programme on the theme "What is a Christian?"

I started explaining to him the many dimensions of religious commitment: an intellectual dimension certainly, but also large components of feeling, deep-rooted symbolism, stories which echo in the subconscious. Then there is the ethical dimension and the social one; the realm of ritual action, public and private, and those inner experiences which differ so star-

tingly from one person to another.

I started to spell out some of the complex interactions between those different dimensions; how some people find the most compelling spiritual reality in sacramental worship, how for others it is the sense of the intimate personal relationship with Jesus which is all important.

For some the content of religion is largely ethical. For others it is social, a question of belonging rather than being or doing. The permutations are endless, which is why there is no one simple answer to the question "What is a Christian?"

"That's all very well," said my interviewer, "but what viewers really want to know is whether a Christian has to believe in the Virgin Birth."

How can one explain that

this narrowing down of the many-sidedness of faith to a single issue about the precise form of certain doctrinal statements, is to do precisely what the crowds in Jerusalem wanted? "Give us a simple answer to a simple question... tell us whether your teaching is true."

Of course, plain answers and simple truths are important. Of course, the controversies of recent months have been about substantial issues. The point needs to be made again and again that the Christian faith is rooted in history, in what God has actually done, and there can be no valid faith which discounts or undermines this.

But there can be no valid faith either if we lose sight of what all our expressions of Christian belief are actually for—not to fill our

minds with a certain style of mental furniture, but to relate us to God. "If anyone chooses to do God's will, he will find out whether my teachings come from God..." (John 7:17).

What St John's Gospel describes for us is a search, an adventure, an argument which moves first this way, then that, a respect for actual experience out of which emerges, often slowly and painfully, deeper knowledge of God. It is not the kind of knowledge which can somehow be read from an authoritative formula. Its authority emerges with it, through the process of questioning and hearing and responding.

One of the greatest contemporary expositors of St John, C. K. Barrett, has described the gospel's theology as dialectical. It is full of

contrasts, oppositions, paradoxes. Those who think they see, are blind; those who see, are those who have seen the risen Christ. But blessed also are those who have not seen, and yet believe.

This constant moving between affirmation and denial is not just a peculiarity of St John's method. It is an authentic insight into the nature of Christian truth.

So how do we convey this reality in an age which finds it hard to believe? I have already said that directness, simplicity, certainty, straight answers to straight questions, are not to be despised. But I suspect that the fundamental disagreement in our church today concerns the ambient of simplicity and directness. It is right to expect.

Controversies over the precise historical interpretation

of particular doctrines may sway the argument this way or that. But the real difference lies between those with a questioning, exploratory faith, and those who hold that essentially all the answers have already been given.

Even that is putting it too simply. Even the most questioning faith is more than a list of questions; it has to be a response to and an exploration of what God has actually done, a dialectic between Yes and No. And even the most unquestioning faith has to allow room for discovery unless it is to lose all sense of the living work of the Spirit. As always, we are faced with a spectrum of attitudes not with two utterly opposed viewpoints. Nevertheless there is a difference and it is important

to recognise it. And it is important for those who have expectations of the clergy to ask themselves what in the side they want from them. Do we want to be made into explorers or into recipients? And which approach is likely to lead us deeper into the knowledge of God?

If we answer, as I believe St John answers, that we have to be explorers, then maybe we can go on from there to see the differences between Christians as all part of a larger dialectic which will eventually bring both sides to a more authentic faith.

Dr John Habgood is the Archbishop of York. This is an edited extract from a sermon delivered in St Paul's Cathedral, London, on May 22.



Earlier forms of service may be made to look positively benevolent by the subordination into which we are now being pressed

## Hard times in Mrs T's service

JEREMY SEABROOK

DURING the current long phase of mass unemployment there has been much speculation about the kind of work — if any — that is to replace the decayed traditional patterns of employment in Britain. The official version of those who, for the moment at least, control our destiny, insists that if we permit market forces to run their benign course unimpeded, our reward will be abundant opportunity in something mystifyingly called "the tertiary sector," the development of "service industries." These agreeable euphemisms do not stress precisely what it is into the service of which we are to be recruited.

And yet the nature of the "new" master we are bidden to serve should come as no surprise. For this government has performed for us at least one major act of kindness. It has swept away the decorous fiction that the economy exists to serve humanity, and has made it plain that the economy is a self-sustaining end in itself, with a life and vitality which mere human beings must not

be permitted to disturb with their importunate needs.

The Thatcher years have seen the tearing of the veils shrouding the nature of the capitalist economy — veils in no small measure laboriously and obligingly spun by those who once declared themselves the implacable opponents of the capitalist system.

Our function and purpose in the era now beginning, in the vacuum left by the decline of manufacturing industry, is to be pressed into the service of the autonomous economy.

They have made no bones about it, our Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who have tirelessly urged us to observe how the economy has responded to their healing touch. Nowhere else in all their utterances do they approach anything like the tenderness with which they dwell upon the care they have lavished on its recovery. Those metaphors of health (having conspicuously deserted the faltering health service) have been unstintingly called upon to indicate the fundamental soundness

of the robustness, the clean bill of health, the remission won for what once looked like the "sick man of Europe" even though radical surgery may have been necessary.

That this inflated rhetoric can be summoned to describe a society in which four million people are without work, and eight million are dependent upon supplementary benefit, can give no clearer evidence that the economy exists for itself alone, and that the well-being of people is subordinate: even if it sometimes seems, quite unrelated, to its majestic imperatives.

The briefest survey of the language used to evoke economic issues will show the extent to which the economy has been anthropomorphised. Every day the markets are described in the press in terms of human emotions. Now they are nervous, now sensitive, now hesitant, now steady. They are jittery, they are volatile. Sometimes they show concern.

The same transference of human attributes occurs in those bulletins on the state of the pound or the dollar. The pound had a good day;

the pound is ailing; the dollar is buoyant; the pound — like the notices pinned to the palace railings — is sinking fast. Competitors take advantage of our weakness; the economy responds; our hopes and disappointments depend upon its caprice; there are no longer metaphors of health and sickness, but are rather the language of love.

All this reassuring imagery no doubt serves to make intelligible those mysterious forces set over us. Our reverence for these abstractions might not matter so much if its obverse were not equally glaring — that is, the voiding of the human content of those terms of economic discourse that have to do with the real, tangible sufferings of living flesh and blood. Poverty, unemployment, labour costs, rationalisation, de-skilling — how comfortingly lifeless it all sounds, what fitting objects for study by academics and economists; how remote from our real concerns.

Once we have accepted this bizarre inversion, we are bound to accept everything that our human subservience to these processes may demand. Perhaps this is why so many people have the curious sense of being not only powerless, but spectators of their own impotence, as cancer wards close, as old people die because they can't afford fuel, as the lives of kidney patients are bridged for want of treatment.

We are fascinated, although quite unable to intervene, when people are discovered to be living in cardboard boxes on the Embankment, or a family is found in the chassis of a derelict car abandoned in a

lay-by. We discover we must assent to the necessity of people earning a living on a rubbish-tip in Birkhead, we must register outrage at the blind acts of violence and vandalism of those young people who strike vainly against the total power that can find no place for them; we must reconcile ourselves to the wasting away of half a generation.

Equally, we must regard, not as aberrant, but as quite normal, that even while people perish, strange new products flood the markets: novel foodstuffs, spun out of chemicals, tempting new delights like mange-tout from Guatemala, and pineapples from the Ivory Coast, skin-cleansers made of apricots, shampoos of balsam and avocado, cat foods of salmon and turkey, sunken spa baths and electric woks; just as we eagerly welcome those "real jobs" that furnish our civilisation with such refinements as kitescreens, pornography and junk food.

Who knows what twistings and bendings of the human substance may be necessary in this sublime service? We cannot say that we haven't been warned — and by Mrs Thatcher herself, that people who seem to have been at pains to demonstrate to the people what Karl Marx vainly sought to draw to our attention many years ago, although she has done so, not in order that we should be shocked by capitalism's enduring and rapacious disregard for humanity, but rather that we may admire the grace and mystery and wisdom of so unalterable and benign a phenomenon, into the service of which it is an honour to enter.

But the subordination into

which we are now being pressed may make earlier forms of service look positively benevolent — the masters feeling the calves and biceps of their labourers in the pit-yard before taking them on may seem mild taskmasters by comparison; the farmers at the annual hiring looking for unspeakably country girls unlikely to ask for suit and beer as part of their wages, may appear paragons of charity; the employers of those young women sent out of the exhausted Welsh valleys for domestic service in London may by contrast seem the most considerate of masters. For service is always being reconstituted in one guise or another.

This time, it corresponds to a moment of capitalist restructuring and regeneration when the release from dirty and dangerous manufacturing industries may dispose us to welcome as liberation new and unfamiliar forms of servitude. Indeed, the language of liberation has been heard once more in our time, just as it was at the time of the industrial revolution.

But we should be under no illusion: human liberation, then as now, has nothing to do with the liberation of the autonomous economy.

Whereas Mrs Thatcher's ideological forbears sought to free the economy from the shackles of earlier paternalistic constraints, this time it is to be set free from the awkward obstacles erected in its path by the best endeavours of the labour movement. The object, however, remains constant: liberation of the sombre and comfortable imperatives of money from the tiresome fetters of human sentiment.

## Pym's bite at the apple of lost innocence

Alfred Sherman

AS AN essay in re-writing history to suit current political convenience, the do-it-yourself mythopoeia by Francis Pym and Sir Ian Gilmour is chaotic compared to Livy and Tacitus, the Book of Ruth and the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Yet inasmuch as they evoke renewed critical interest in Conservative history, traditions, values and ideas, good may yet result.

This should not interest only Conservatives. What Conservatives think and do affects everyone in this country.

Precisely because Tories/Conservatives have been the most apolitical of parties during most of their history, they were bound to assimilate more ideas and attitudes than they imparted in the course of their reaction to and interaction with other parties and currents.

For most of its history, Tory/Conservatism was in-elastic and inflexible rather than intellectual and explicit. It did not generate values but embodied existing ones. Whereas the Whig Party created and defended the Whig Settlement, and the Labour Party was created in order to implement a programme based on pre-formed ideas, the Tory/Conservatives picked up ideas and commitments en route and shaped them as circumstances dictated.

The Tories began as Jacobites. Then they re-emerged as diehard supporters of the Hanoverian monarchy and Church of England, damping Catholics and dissenters together with suffrage reformers. Then, when universal suffrage seemed inevitable, they accepted it with resignation.

Presentation of nineteenth century Tories as proto-socialists by re-writers and quotationeers like Sir Ian Gilmour is caricature and anachronism. The idea that the state had a duty to provide for its citizens' material welfare had no purchase in Britain until the late nineteenth century. Chartists excepted.

Mercantilism, far from being the forerunner of welfare economics or socialism, had been their exact opposite. It treated economics, like war, as an extension of national policy by other means, substituting private economic "welfare" for national greatness. The anti-mercantilist revolution of Hume and Smith, which asserted the rights of private well-being against public strength and splendour, was a consequence of the Glorious Revolution and Whig Settlement, which downgraded the state as against autonomous civil society.

Tories experienced no difficulty in accommodating the market. Their main concerns had been constitutional and religious. Though Mr Heath et al speak disparagingly of "nineteenth century liberalism," and equate Thatcherism with it, it was precisely nineteenth century liberals who swung from laissez-faire to state involvement. The transition from Chadwick, Cobden, and Bright to Lloyd George was seamless. Labour took off from there.

The late nineteenth century vogue for government involvement in economic development owed as much to Prussia's victories over the Hohenzollerns ("The Battle of Sadova was won by the Prussian schoolmaster") and French as to the inexorable extension of the suffrage. Bismarck's social and economic policies were espoused by British liberals as enthusiastically as French and Swedish economic planning were in our days. The growing strength of the Labour Representation Committee inside the Liberal Party lent electoral weight and a new welfare-orientation to these considerations.

Most Conservatives resisted

this trend, the main exceptions being those "nineteenth century liberals" Joseph Chamberlain and his followers. In 1922, the Conservatives, who had been dragged along in wartime in the wake of Lloyd George (and, up to a point, Austen Chamberlain) broke up the coalition, ditched Chamberlain, together with Lloyd George, seeking to restore the status quo ante bellum.

This mood persisted among Conservatives until the closing years of the second world war, though Neville Chamberlain edged away from it somewhat. It was strengthened by the economic successes of the second half of the inter-war period.

Until the turn of the century, Conservatives had held more or less the same political ideas and beliefs as non-Conservative contemporaries. Their differences lay more in underlying attitudes, even temperament. Tories were Christian, their belief in original sin made them sceptical, pessimistic, unable to believe that human nature in all its perversity could be redeemed by ready-made formulae.

Scepticism protected the generality of Tories against utopianism, whether it looked at the unencumbered workings of the free market or to the benevolent state to usher in the millennium. By contrast, nineteenth century liberals swung from the one to the other.

However, just as Tories absorbed ideas from other parties and milieux, they eventually absorbed their attitudes. The Butlerite "one nation" phase, born out of the euphoria of war-time victory and the shock of post-war electoral defeat, envisaged Tory governments regaining and retaining office by leading the nation into permanent sunlight, with the old Adam banished. As it turned out, Tories were bound to be outbid by socialists in competitive utopianism.

## Labour's very own moving right show

Anthony Arblaster

NO DOUBT about it, this is a peculiarly difficult moment for the Left in Britain. The miners' strike — a historic struggle — ended without the victory for which so many had worked so hard; and soon Mrs Thatcher was boasting (in the *Far East*) about her famous victory over "the enemy within."

Then the agreed strategy of concerted resistance to rate-capping steadily fell apart, beginning when one of the Left's brightest stars, Ken Livingstone, suddenly backed away from direct confrontation with the Government and its laws.

Yet, remarkably, it is not the Government which appears to be benefitting from these setbacks for the Left. The nation is turning away from the Prime minister's over more strident and self-congratulatory style of government. Labour enjoys a lead in the opinion polls and did well in the shire county elections — even in the south, where it had suppo-

edly been wiped out altogether in 1983.

Thatcher has, of course, never commanded anything like majority support from the voters and it was only the fatal division of the non-Tory electorate which gave her that inflated parliamentary majority two years ago.

Clearly the only way to avoid a repetition of that disaster in 1987 and 1988 is through a substantial Labour recovery, which now seems to be beginning. Every socialist must hope that it continues.

Or would do, if it were not for the price which socialists themselves are expected to pay for it. It is increasingly clear what the Labour leadership judges to be the necessary condition of the return to electoral credibility: the isolation and neutralisation of the Left both inside and outside the party.

They see the defeat of the miners, the humiliation of Arthur Scargill, and the apparent defection of Ken Livingstone, as providing a golden opportunity to marginalise the Left and discredit its leading figures — above all, of course, Tony Benn.

This is the real substance

of recent articles about "realignment" on the Left. As Livingstone shrewdly pointed out, when invited to identify himself with this process, "realignment" has a context of exclusion. And a context of a new dominance within that.

Just so. There is to be a closing of ranks around and in support of the Labour leadership. Those who refuse to take the new loyalty oaths are to be cast into the outer darkness of sectarianism and extremism.

All this must look like a wonderfully attractive scenario to Kinnoch, Hattersley, and those who plan to ride back to office (if not power) in their wake. The horrors of 1981, when Benn came within a whisker of becoming the Deputy Leader, and of 1984-5, when Scargill held the centre stage while Neil Kinnoch hovered uneasily in the wings — all these can now be forgotten. Labour is now returning to its old law-abiding paths of constitutionalism and respectability.

Anyone with any knowledge of Labour's history knows that we have been here before. As an election looms closer there is always a kind of "realignment," a closing of ranks in support of the party itself. This is

perfectly understandable, and, indeed, sensible.

There is only one snag. The realignment is always a move to the right. It is always the Left which is expected to sacrifice its commitments.

But surely, it will be said, we are all agreed that the first priority is to bring about the end of the Thatcher government. Is it not worth some sacrifice of position or principle to achieve that?

The answer is simple. If getting rid of Thatcher were the only goal of the Left, then the most likely way to do it would be through an electoral pact with the Alliance, whereby the anti-Thatcher vote in every winnable seat was cast for one candidate, not divided between two.

The very fact that this suggestion has got nowhere in the Labour Party, and that not even the most fervent advocates of a "broad alliance" against Thatcherism, such as Eric Hobsbawm, have openly proposed it, is significant.

More is expected of Labour than that. Every socialist will rejoice at the end of Thatcherism. No socialist will accept that that alone is what Labour ought to be

aiming at. The failure and fall of the monetarist experiment will be the opportunity for the Left to move to the right. It is always the Left which is expected to sacrifice its commitments.

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## There's one law for the rich and for criminals — but none for the honest poor



Polly Toynbee

THE Lambeth Law Centre offices, are cramped, dingy, and inadequate — hardly room to swing a brief, and far cry from the salubrious and solemn offices of private solicitors. Piles of files and books, shelves stacked with legal tomes, line the low-ceilinged boxrooms. Clients huddle by the door, and overflow into rooms where the telephones ring incessantly. The staff are working frantically to clear the most urgent cases before the centre closes. Many of the cases will be left in the air for people to struggle along with on their own.

Lambeth's two law centres will close at the end of the month. Thirty-three more centres will have shut by the end of the year, some in a few months' time. The rest of the country's 55 centres are unlikely to survive beyond two years unless the Lord Chancellor's department recognises that these services are an essential part of Britain's failing legal system.

Upstairs, in a small dark corner, Anna T was discussing her case with one of the centre's solicitors. She was indignant at what had happened to her. She showed the

letter she had received from her employer, summarily dismissing her because she had just had a baby. She had taken her 18 weeks' maternity leave, as agreed, and was just preparing to return to her job in a large office, when the letter of dismissal arrived. It had an unpleasantly patronising turn of phrase: "We believe it would not be satisfactory for our point of view, or yours, as your first consideration would be, quite rightly, your baby's welfare. I would suggest you seriously consider getting a job much closer to your home or even doing some typing at home."

Her case is due to come before an employment tribunal, which is supposed to be less formal and legally confusing than a court. But the mass of complex employment law makes it as much of a maze for non-lawyers as any court. Her employers will be represented by a barrister and a solicitor while she, with no money, can afford no representation. Legal aid is not paid for representation at tribunals. The only place she could turn was to the Law Centre.

But by the time her case gets to the tribunal (waiting time about three months), this law centre will have closed, and Anna T will be on her own. At least she will have her file and the information she has been given about her rights. Those who come after her will have nothing but their own wits to depend on.

Like many Law Centre clients, Anna was referred here by a Citizens Advice Bureau. Difficult legal cases of this kind often cannot be handled by the volunteers in advice centres who can only give information on rights of a more general kind.

Mrs W. came to the centre about an arbitrary cut that



Picture of the Salford Law Centre by Denis Thorpe

had been made in her social security pay. A frail woman, in her late sixties, she had recently moved flat, and found her special heating allowance and her special diet allowance had been taken away. She suffered a serious complaint that needed a low fat, high fruit and vegetable diet. Letters had gone forwards and backwards between the Law Centre and the DSS. Before taking her to an appeal hearing, the centre had managed to get an independent surveyor's report, stating her new flat was harder, not easier, to heat, and a doctor's report stressed her bad state of health. They won the appeal, and the money was returned to her. "I could never have done all that on my own. That

extra money makes all the difference. I've never been to a solicitor before in my life," she said.

Most of the nation's law centres are now under threat because neither the Department of the Environment, nor the Lord Chancellor's department, will accept responsibility for them.

The centres, employing a mixture of solicitors, barristers and trained legal advisers, make a valiant attempt at delivering legal services to the poorest and most vulnerable people who, without legal aid, have no way to assert their rights.

They defend the non-unions against unfair dismissal by their employers, the homeless against unlawful

eviction by their landlords, immigrants against the arbitrary application of immigration laws, and the great mass of welfare recipients against the steamroller of the state.

Each year they represent more than 370,000 people — still a fraction of those denied legal services. The Law Centres Federation says that 500 Law Centres would be needed to cover all those who cannot go to solicitors because their cases do not qualify for legal aid. Now the Government is to remove even this frail safety net.

It is not so much a matter of one law for the rich and another for the poor, but one for the rich, the divorcing, and criminals and none at all for the non-criminal poor.

Legal aid will cover divorce and crime, both lucrative areas that ordinary solicitors are glad to take on. But there is no legal aid for all those matters of crucial importance to the poor. They cannot be represented by lawyers at social security, rent, employment, or immigration hearings, because these are supposed to be informal. Yet the other side — the employers, the landlords, the state — have its lawyers against whom the defenceless are supposed to be able to argue.

Law Centres are themselves a symptom of the way in which legal services in the country are often denied to those in most need of asserting their feeble rights. Our legal system is something akin to the American health

system. Private practitioners can claim quite hefty profits from the legal aid fund to cover certain types of cases, with total neglect of less profitable cases. Legal aid is an extravagant way to provide such a service, that would be far more cheaply delivered by employing salaried lawyers directly to look after people's rights. To some extent, with proper independence, Law Centres attempt to do this, but there are not enough of them to claim to be a full integral part of our legal system.

Lord Hallam, the Lord Chancellor, has made it clear that he is determined that there should be no such network, and certainly not funded by his department. Hallam said in the House of

Lords, "The Law Centres are not part of the Lord Chancellor's department. They are part of the urban programme and therefore come clearly within another department." Until now, the Department of the Environment has indeed funded many of them under its urban aid programme. But now urban aid has been cut, and what remains is being redirected towards projects that generate inner city jobs. In any case, this is clearly a fundamental issue of law, and therefore must belong to the Lord Chancellor's own department.

Hallam has done the same in refusing to fund the conciliation services for divorcing couples. They save far more money than they cost by diverting warring couples from hiring their own expensive legally aided solicitors and bringing them to agreement without wasting court time and solicitors' fees. It seems he regards such services as messy social policies and not as good clean adversarial law, which begins and ends inside the walls of the temple.

There should be a complete overhaul of the way the law is delivered to people in this country, the way it is funded and administered. Law Centres as they are currently financed and organised are weak, some have a toothless hand-aid solution, without the money, the time, the space they need to handle the often overwhelming number of urgent cases sent to them. But until we have a fair legal aid system available to all who need it, a national network of Law Centres, centrally funded by the Lord Chancellor's department, is the least we should provide to protect the defenceless in their dealings with those tribunals which have become such a tangle of legal complexity for ordinary people.

Christopher Reed reports from San Francisco on the confusion spread among American reformers by the extraordinary case of Cathleen Webb

## Did the woman lie when she said she was raped, or when she said she wasn't?

WHETHER or not Cathleen Webb was lying and Gary Dotson was wrongly imprisoned for allegedly raping her, the outcome of this curious case in Chicago brings only bad news for reformers of US rape laws.

The revisionists are already using it to call into doubt the achievements in police investigations and trial procedures in the last decade. Mrs Webb had "made a fool of the law and a fool of the women's movement," says Susan Brownmiller, author of the definitive 1975 work on rape, *Against Our Will*.

Although Gary Dotson, now 26, has been discharged from prison after serving six years of a 25-50 year sentence, the

Governor of Illinois who released him, rejected a pardon. The Judge, who earlier reviewed Mrs Webb's recantation of her evidence, sent him back to jail.

Mrs Webb, now 23 and the mother of two children, was questioned at the prisoner review board hearing for five hours by the Governor of Illinois, James Thompson, a former federal prosecutor. He seemed sceptical of her story, concluding only that "no useful purpose would be served by keeping Mr Dotson locked up."

If Mr Dotson is innocent, things are almost as bad. As a convicted felon he is still

denied certain citizens' rights and still has to bear the stigma of guilt in spite of his and his accuser's insistence of his innocence. That is why he is now seeking a re-trial, a process opposed by Illinois, which could risk heavy damages if he were formally acquitted. The case is a difficult one, and we will be hearing more of it, not least from opponents of feminism.

Typical was the response of Judge Decker, an author and frequent critic of feminism. She said: "It has occurred to me, as I'm sure it has to many men, that rape has become a special crime that does not require the same standards of evidence that other crimes do."

It was inevitable there would be a gross miscarriage of justice sooner or later. All the emphasis on rape lately, with the "great" killing of standard of evidence, has gone to another extreme.

Charles Nesson, Professor of law at Harvard University and a specialist in rules of evidence, rejected Mr Decker's argument. "It's obvious she has never sat through the old rape trials where the abuse of the victim was extreme. It's hardly point of controversy by now that rape shield laws are a necessary aid to rape victims, and a fair trial."

The irony as far as Mr Dotson

is concerned is that under the old procedures he would almost certainly have been acquitted. Victims, as well as being openly identified, were subjected to defence interrogation about their "morals". Evidence of previous sexual experience or suggestion of "leading on" — her attacker, "always led to a not guilty verdict. Just in some states would instruct the jury to acquit."

Mrs Webb, now a born-again Christian, was 16 at the time of the alleged rape. She told Governor Thompson she was "sexually promiscuous", took drugs, and was often in trouble in those days. She made up her accusation, she said, because

she had sex with her boyfriend and feared she was pregnant. By claiming rape, she could absolve herself of the blame to her family. She made up a description and failed to intervene when police decided to matched Dotson.

Various inconsistencies in her present story seem to have denied Mr Dotson a pardon. Forensic evidence cast doubt on Mrs Webb's claim to have had sex with her boyfriend at the time. Another cause for doubt was her tentative identification of an accomplice in a police line-up. He turned out to be a close friend of Mr Dotson. This might fit in with Dotson's former cell-mate's version that Dotson had said

the incident happened at a party when Mrs Webb, disoriented from drugs, was with three men in a bedroom.

Perhaps nobody but the two concerned will ever know what really happened, but revisionists are insisting that it is now too easy for a woman falsely to accuse a man of rape. Statistics show that reports of rape have doubled since 1970, convictions have increased, and present sentences are often worse than for murder, in spite of anonymity and more sensitive police procedures. But it is estimated that at least half the crimes are not reported to police.

Most cases are not restricted

to the woman's uncorroborated word against the man's, and studies have shown that the accuser is no more likely to lie in rape cases than in other crimes. An estimated 2 per cent recent testimony. Yet the publicity surrounding the Webb-Dotson case — including a Senate committee hearing — has tended to reinforce the idea that false accusations are more common.

This is the major worry among feminists. Says Ms Brownmiller, "Obviously it is going to be fresh in the mind of rape victims and investigators, as well as people on juries. The problem is that we always fix on cases that are radical exceptions."

**Turning an Honest Penny**

Times have been tough in Tresoddit... For Kevin Penwallet, ex-lecturer in anthropology...

Lean season has followed lean season... and, in the end, even the ideals of strong men, bow to the prevailing economic draught...

...and now, Kevin Penwallet, ex-purveyor of all that is NATURAL, has given over his shelves to NATURE...

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But how can one deplore this peddling of Nature... with its whimsy... its sentiment, its bogus gentility... its nostalgia... when the till rings all day... and two village girls have been given employment?

As he sits at the back of the shop, scratching a matted shaggy head upon slate, Kevin dreams of a way of righting the balance regarding Nature & the Country... of telling it like it is...

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Masterly beyond words, is Penwallet's "Leisure Centre at Benthed"... the Lecky buildings straddling both sides of the once busy peninsula...

Animal Portraits... and the could not be the sheer sentiment of "Old Village Post Office", with its queue of redundant china-dish workers...

The Penwallet Plates will inevitably attract admiration from all those who see them on your wall... but his limited edition is available only to those collectors who enter their subscriptions before October 1st 1985... £25 per plate.

## Vanity Fair

THE POSITION of Leader is a difficult and lonely one, and that's what the Man who's Man has already rejected. Chairman and the Other Three thought they'd got rid of her weeks ago. It wasn't their fault if she wasn't up to scratch.

"Everyone on this Authority is an employer," snapped the Man Who Wasn't Chairman's Friend. "If you want to live with the Workers all the time, you should be the employed."

"I can't vote for her," said Non-Friend Number Two, pink with temper. "She'll take the papers and publish them."

"Is anyone in pain in the audience?" asked Chairman wistfully, quelling the upsurge. "I will not have interruptions from the audience."

"Miss X was refused by a self-appointed committee," said an awkward woman politely.

"We acted democratically," shouted Non-Friend Number Three. It was nasty to have a statutory woman on the committee, said he, like a statutory Black or Jew. And there were no smoke-filled rooms where caucuses took place. He having explained things clearly and honestly like that, it came as rather a shock when some Doctors and Wets sided with the Lefties and voted Miss X onto the Tendering Committee. Things like that rarely happen on our Health Authority.

But it won't make much difference. The gang just won't be able to make as briskly through agendas and get things cracking like they used to.

At least Chairman, and he alone, is compensated for the agonies of his post. He gets 25,500 pa for about two days' work on this Authority. And if there isn't always a statutory woman, that's not his fault. And they're not his friends and standards won't go down the pan, and he's not joining the SDP. It's all lies, really it is.

Michele Hanson

صلى الله عليه وسلم







## Where is their friend when they need him?

Whatever the scale of the pogrom taking place in Beirut for the past week, President Assad of Syria has had the power to stop it, or at least to show some willingness to do so. He has done neither, and if the result is half as bad as is now feared then the Palestinians will have suffered as great a demonstration of ferocity as was shown to them by the Christian Phalangists in 1982.

In broad terms Syria stands to the Shi'ite Amal Militia as Israel then stood to the Christians. When the truth about the scale of the 1982 atrocities began to emerge, Israel had to call off the assault. That Mr Assad has shown no such disposition is a grievous but also a telling aspect of this latest renewal of the conflict. It has been known for several days—in outline though by no means in detail—that at Sabra and Chatila the Amal Militia has gone on a murderous rampage. At the larger camp of Bourj al-Barajneh the Palestinians have been able to put up more resistance. That supplied the occasion for Syria to step in with orders to stop or, if those were unheeded, with some of its 30,000 troops in Lebanon. But nothing has happened. What is Mr Assad trying to tell the Palestinians?

The first message is that there is no place for them as an armed presence in Lebanon which might disrupt his design for a Syrian suzerainty (the only design which hitherto has provided a coherent answer to Lebanon's unparalleled travails). That message was aimed at the Fatah loyalists within the PLO who give allegiance to Yasser Arafat. But it has been taken by Mr Arafat's opponents as applying to them too, for despite their normal readiness to fall in with Syrian designs they have aligned themselves this time with the besieged Palestinians in the camps. Mr Assad is, of course, capable of conducting policies of extreme subtlety, but the net result of the past week must be to strengthen Mr Arafat's position substantially.

The second message seems to say: Palestinians cannot count on Syria to give them the slightest practical assistance. They are on their own. They must reach what terms they can with Israel. And although that may prove to be very sensible advice it is contrary to everything Mr Assad has told them in the past. It is his opponents in the Middle East power struggle, King Hussein and President Mubarak, who have been advocating an accommodation with Israel. Mr Arafat has gone along with that suggestion as far as the political divisions within the PLO have allowed. His agreement with King Hussein on the outline of a federation between Jordan and a future Palestinian state led to denunciations from the radical groups looking to Damascus and within his own Fatah organisation. But what are those denunciations worth when Mr Assad can act with such apparently cynical disregard of Palestinian interests?

It looks as though the gaping hole at the centre of the rejectionist argument all these years has finally been exposed. In it there is no policy for Palestine, only the senseless lip-service to a totally unrealistic ambition: the dismemberment or destruction of Israel. It is time the rejectionists' bluff was called. It was not expected to be Mr Assad who called it. Perhaps his rejectionism has been tactical all along, a mere means for securing allies in the other regional battles in which he is engaged. Either way the Palestinians living on the West Bank have long had his measure, and though they too may justly regret the end of the great crusade they have long known that it would not be accomplished in their lifetimes.

The logical outcome (which is not to say it will happen without further torment) is for the weakened PLO, though under a strengthened Arafat, formally to accept UN resolutions 242 and 338 which recognise the State of Israel. They can then ask to see the colour of President Reagan's money. It was he who proposed the Jordan-Palestine federation. It is he, if anyone, who can put pressure on Israel to reverse its rejection of that plan: and US interests would require him to do so if the PLO had made the concessions required. Mr Assad has inadvertently posed the simple question: if that option is not attractive to Palestinians, what alternative do they suggest?

## Getting macho over Draco

For a man who's been dead these 2,500 years the Athenian lawgiver Draco has been remarkably successful over the past few days in barging his way into the headlines. Arthur Scargill says Ian MacGregor is being "draconian" when he shouldn't be. A Commons Select Committee says the drugs laws ought to be "draconian" but they aren't. The image of Draco that comes down across the centuries, in other words, is invariably that of your thoroughgoing professional hard man: the Casper Weinberger, one might say, of Athenian jurisprudence.

This was not always so. It used to be held by some, on the basis of a text of Aristotle, that Draco was also in his own way something of a Bennis reformer, extending the franchise (though only to those able to afford armour) and ordering that magistrates and councillors should be chosen by lot.

That text, sadly, is now regarded as spurious. We are left simply with Draco the codifier of Athenian law. That, certainly, was a reforming act, since it gave the beleaguered middle-class citizen something solid and incontrovertible to turn to, instead of leaving him, as before, at the mercy of marauding aristocrats who defined the law as whatever they wanted it to be. Draco also made the law uniform by decreeing that a single punishment should serve in the great majority of cases. The only trouble was that this punishment was death. According to Plutarch: "Even those convicted of idleness were executed, and those who stole fruit or vegetables suffered the same punishment as sacrilege or murder." Someone once had the temerity to ask Draco why this should be so. The minor offences, the sage replied, seemed to him to deserve execution. As for major ones, he had been unable to find any heavier punishment to impose.

The whole Draconian code was subsequently swept away by Solon, except for the distinction which Draco had drawn between deliberate and involuntary acts of murder. No other society has ever quite revived it, though as a result of these disclosures an early day motion advocating immediate action on parallel lines may well be tabled when Parliament resumes by someone like Mr Peter Bruinvels. Our records of Draco's life are extremely sketchy, and we have no way of knowing whether he was ever called upon to deal with a miners' strike. Mr MacGregor's reported comment when our own strike ended — "people are now discovering the price of insubordination and insurrection and boy are we going to make it stick" — sounds very much like the kind of language Draco liked to hear, though the Athenian would probably have found the penalties ordered by the NCB regrettable.

On one point, however, we can be quite categorical. Whatever Mr Jimmy Greaves might say, Kevin Moran would certainly have got his marching orders at Wembley if Draco had been refereeing.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

# The shame and the pity of our unfulfilled talent

Dear Sir,—How nauseating was Terry Coleman's patronising and disparaging article about Kim Blake (May 22), who had the temerity to express anger that she had not found a decent job since graduating in 1982. Paradoxically, while ostensibly allowing her a platform to express her views—"She has the usual views on racism, South Africa, the harassment of gay pornography and the Bomb"—he managed to suggest, by his lack of real sympathy for her plight and that of many, many more in this unfortunate country, that she was politically naive and that many of her arguments were untenable.

The truth of her position has more to do with opportunities missed, the unfulfilled normalities experienced by earlier generations, stereotyping by the likes of Terry Coleman, the lack of any chance to carry a identity to take control. The article left a great deal unsaid. Coleman said he went to Sheffield "to attempt to gain an understanding of the state of mind of one of the hundreds of thousands of people who have left school or university and never had a proper job." He failed.

13 Felix Gardens, London SW2.  
Sir,—Although carefully stating that his profile of unemployed graduates was not Blake's "not typical of anything," Terry Coleman's supercilious presentation of the piece falls little short of being yet another "Who are the dole scroungers?" article.

## Labour's stock and shares

Sir,—John Large (Letters, May 18) complains that he has been excluded from a parliamentary shortlist because he's a man.

I have no idea whether his exclusion was the result of his rejection. However, his individual failure does not bear comparison with the institutional discrimination practised against women by the Labour Party.

Labour women have for more than 80 years been excluded from Parliament by an unwritten "rule" in the party's constitution which ensures that shortlists for most seats consist only of men.

So far Labour has selected 90 candidates for its "safest" seats. Of these, 82 are men and only eight are women. Of the eight women, four are sitting MPs, two are ex-MPs, and one is a MEP. This means that so far we have a potential net gain of three women to add to our abysmally low stock of 11 women in Westminster.

Mr Large can rest assured that his case is the exception that proves the rule. Thousands of Labour Party activists—backed by the national Executive Committee—maintain a system that discriminates blatantly against women.

National Organiser, Labour Women's Action Committee, London SW 4.

## Mixed grill

Sir,—Sometimes I think my world is falling apart but then I read your report on hospital cockroaches (May 24) and I know England is safe in their hands. How deeply reassuring to know that cockroaches in chicken stew are harmless as long as they are cooked properly.

No doubt the Health Minister will form a study group to investigate the protein content. This is what Lawson and Thatcher have been waiting for — a self-sufficient NHS providing its own "in-farming" produce for the consumption of both patients and staff. The mind boggles. — Yours sincerely, Aubrey Branson, Hatch End, Middlesex.

## The pitfalls in a beef stroganoff theory of the universe



Geoffrey Taylor

A NEW range of cook books has started to appear, and ethnic this time but vegetarian. They are designed to put people off their food. They differ from older books of the kind in not seeking to imitate meat. They are there to cover the gastronomic flank of the animal rights movement.

To read these books is to remember that the old regime has been good while it lasted. The kormani lambing from North Sumatra, the Kurdish mountain delicacy of yoghurt and lamb aromatised with fennel seeds, no dish from a distant culture is any longer strange to the national palate. But the trend is changing, as trends do, and we are entering harsher culinary times.

Ms Blake is presented to us as a rather silly person who cannot face up to the harsh reality of life. Yet I wonder if her opinions, presented in a less derided form, might seem more convincing.

For instance, it is most certainly the case that employment opportunities for female graduates are significantly more restricted than those of their male counterparts in the best of economic climates. In this respect Ms Blake has a perfect grasp on reality.

As for the State "owing her a living" it is very much a case as she says, of "getting on to socialism." The free market system allows the wastage of thousands of able and talented people in its necessary pool of unemployment. It is quite right that the unemployed should feel no sense of shame in claiming that money allowance from the State. It is the State, under the present government policies, that is responsible for that wastage.

This article was the sort of pernicious myth-mongering which might look not at all out of place in the Daily Mail or Express. Sadly the unemployed are not safe from stigmatisation even in your pages. — Yours David Harper, Oxford Unemployed Workers' and Claimants' Union, 44b Princes Street, Oxford.

Sir,—I read the article on unemployed graduate Kim Blake (Guardian Women, May 22) with interest. I am also an unemployed graduate

and had received that morning another rejected application.

When I graduated in 1984 with a honours degree in history, I thought that finding a job would not be difficult. I wanted to work in a library for a couple of years so I could then study for a Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship. But it appeared that I was over-qualified to work as a library assistant.

I was told at the Job Centre that I would not find any suitable jobs there. I looked at other careers but found I was trapped between being too highly qualified and having no experience.

I, like Kim Blake, had also been taught that if I worked hard, I would get a good job. If I did not find one then it must be my own fault. I have also found that other people believe if you have a degree and no job, it must be your own fault.

The feeling of guilt is overwhelming and you soon avoid people, rather than have to explain why you are unemployed.

Unemployment is something you cannot understand unless you have suffered it with the feeling of rejection and the lack of hope for the future.

When will the sacrifice being made by the unemployed be recognised, and will it be too late? — Yours F. C. Williams, Broadstone, Dorset.

Sir,—In June 1984 I graduated from Trent Polytechnic with a 2:1 BA Honours degree. In the last eleven months I have received one interview, and enough letters of rejection to wallpaper my bedroom (and on £31.50 a fortnight, it's about all the decoration I can afford).

It was with interest, then, that I read Terry Coleman's interview with Kim Blake. Unlike Ms Blake I have not given up the search for full-time employment, and have hopes (perhaps foolish) of a job in the near future. In common with her, however, I have come to judge myself (and I hope others) not in terms of the job I do (or which standards, of course, am a complete dead loss and burden to society), but on more personal, less ephemeral criteria. If this in Mr Coleman's view, brands me as a spiritual yuppie, I suppose I'll just have to live with it.

I expect that even among the charitable, liberal minded readers of the Guardian there will be those who will view this letter, and its writer, as just another example of the little Mickey Mouse degree. They are entitled to that view, but in my opinion are a long way from being accurate. My present circumstances do not surprise me in the slightest. Coming as I do from an area of industrial decline I have seen many friends and acquaintances made redundant, or in some cases be unable to find work on leaving school. I saw no reason why, irrespective of academic qualifications, I should be immune from this process of graduation.

Having said this I have

every sympathy with those like Kim Blake, who have gone through the education system fuelled by the belief that their hard work would be rewarded with meaningful employment.

I do not believe that society owes me, or anyone else, a living. Nor am I claiming that the state should be the provider of individual happiness. What I will say, though, is that a society facing the problems we do in Britain can surely find a better use for four million unemployed graduates, or otherwise, than to let them simply lie idle as a counter to rising inflation. — Yours Peter Dumbley, 14 Albion Road, Chesterfield.

Sir,—Perhaps in future Terry Coleman would do better to interview the "public" than the "private" person. Kim Blake, he says, reveals so much more than merely "private" people.

His venture into the uncharted territory of private life in 1980's Britain not only fails to reveal any social truths; it manages, instead, to give a little less of life to some of the more objectionable myths about unemployment and the young.

Kim Blake earned the dubious honour of coming under Mr Coleman's careful scrutiny by having written to the Guardian to the effect that she had despaired of the world and by referring to the "class war," which Mr Coleman seems to regard as something so non-existent and heretical that it must not even be mentioned, for fear of conjuring it into being.

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poor people and people who have no jobs and no hope. There are now indications that the voting public are beginning to tire of uncaring government. The yardstick of "caring" may not seem much on which to base a choice about the future leadership of the country, but with the intellectual talent at our disposal in the present political system, it's all we've got.

Sincerely, J. F. Stern, 157 Stapleton Hall Road, London N4.

is due not to the marijuana but to the atmosphere of risk, daring, and bravado that accompanies its legal status.

The fruitfulness of an attempt to eliminate a drug that is truly popular was demonstrated by American prohibition. That is not to say that we should ignore the problem of drug abuse. But making the decisions should be people who know what they are talking about, not people pandering to an electorate perceived as calling for a strengthening of law and order. — Yours, George Howard, London SE8.

Sir,—Never mind how many Terries are extant: it's the monstrous regiment of Walkes we should be worrying about. — Yours faithfully, John White, Folkestone, Kent.

A COUNTRY DIARY

THE LAKE DISTRICT: It was one of those hazy, lifeless days when the high fells might have been no more than palely-painted scenery in vague, washed-out colours like a Chinese picture without sculpturing or depth.

There were no features, no crags, crevices or fissures, just the familiar shapes, with the nearer ranges like Causery Pike and Maiden Moor an indeterminate grey, Grassmoor and the Buttermere fells with a bit of blue in them and Pillar in the Garsdale entirely light blue wash. Walking the Robinson-Hindscarth — Dale

Head round seemed, for a change, curiously unwarding — no sunshine, no wind, no shadows, almost a walk through flat, cardboard scenery. No cloud or mist, but nothing to see except well-remembered outlines. Back down in lovely Newlands and closer to the scenery there seemed more to admire: the tiered reservoir in Little Dale, caught below dark crags, that always looks the perfect mountain pool, and the green, zig-zag tracks among the firs, and the lakes, where, in the sixteenth century, men toiled in their hundreds for the riches

of copper, silver and even a little gold. It is difficult to believe that this most peaceful dale, still completely unspoiled by the scars of tourism, was once one of the most industrialised parts of the north of England, loud with the clamour of a dozen rich and active mines. Today, the mines, long since grown over and abandoned, have to be sought out and the only sound in the dale the other day was the call of a cuckoo high in the crags, the only movement in the landscape a distant, creeping tractor in a tilted field.

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The point is that in taking on and wiping the floor with Ms Blake, Terry Coleman was hardly rising to the challenge of dealing seriously with the argument of the thousands of bitterly disillusioned young people who have come to see politicians' promises for the vacuum rhetoric that they are.

As portrayed by Terry Coleman (accurately or otherwise, this private person appears self-indulgent, pretentious and prone to trite and idealistic political notions about the state "owing" people something (shame!) which are indeed as futile as they are without a material basis.

I look forward to the day when features will appear on some of the other hundreds of thousands of unemployed young people who, unlike Kim Blake, have in many cases a very clear and sound understanding of the class war which is being waged against them. Likewise many, perhaps most of the young unemployed are now rightly cynical about the benevolent state as the avuncular answer to their problems. — Yours faithfully, Clifford Slapper, CIPD, Socialist Party of Great Britain, Illington South & Finsbury, London N1.

Sir,—Please thank Mr Terry Coleman for demolishing what little confidence and self-respect my daughter, Kim Blake, still has. — Yours faithfully, (Mrs) Margaret Blake, Totnes, Devon.

## The kids have it figured

Sir,—I read with considerable concern David Hearst's report (May 15) about the number of youngsters leaving the Youth Training Scheme, which included another dose of negative criticism by Youthaid.

Whilst it may be true that one third of young people joining the Youth Training Scheme during its second year, left early, many of these youngsters will in fact have obtained a job or moved into further education or training. Some 60 per cent of youngsters leaving the scheme, including those leaving early, are going into employment, and when you include those entering courses of further education and other training the figure rises to about two thirds. Mr Hearst admits as much in his final paragraph, but his headline talk of a "drop-out rate of one third." These are hardly the figures of an unsuccessful scheme.

Despite carping from Youthaid, the Youth Training Scheme is doing very well, with youngsters and its popularity is growing. In 1984-5 just over 370,000 youngsters joined the scheme; by 1984-5 the figure had risen to nearly 390,000. With some 270,000 young people currently in training there is no doubt that youngsters recognise the benefits of the scheme, even if Youthaid — for reasons best known to themselves — do not. — Yours, George Wainwright, House of Commons.

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## Strict regulations determine the use of foreign material on ITV. Christopher Rowley argues the case for the IBA

### Duty calls in the balance of broadcasting trade

JON DAVIS's article about foreign material on ITV (Media Page, May 13) presents an inaccurate picture and largely ignores discussion of important issues. It is well worth debating the type and amount of overseas material on television, and particularly so at a time when Direct Broadcasting by satellite and cable — probably greatly aided by Satellite Master Antennae TV (SMA-TV) — will compete strongly with the IBA and BBC services. Their arrival will mean that all aspects of the existing television output — including the amount and type of overseas material — will need re-examination. But the discussion needs to be both informed and practical.

The IBA's quota regulations are not being broken and there is no secret about the way they operate. The regulations result in more home-produced programmes on our screens than in almost any other country in the world. Whilst the United States and the USSR, for example, may have more home-produced material,

most people would not wish to follow their types of television service. If our regulations are complicated it is because we are taking into account the quality of programmes — not easily dealt with by simplistic rules. The regulations are set by the IBA for both ITV and Channel 4 (They are not, as Mr Davis suggests, worked out by the Programme Policy Committee). The limits are not exceeded and the IBA has never said that the quota includes all overseas material. Quota has always been designed to cover mainstream imported material; the more unusual overseas material is excluded.

The list of quota exemptions given in the article is accurate (not least because the IBA readily provided it and other information to Mr Davis), but the amount of quota exempt foreign material on ITV has always been, and continues to be, small. The facts for April 1984-March 1985 are that of all ITV's transmissions, 13 per cent was quota material.

Quota exempt material comprised one per cent for EEC material, one and a half per cent for extra Commonwealth material not included in quota, and a further three and three-quarter per cent from all other countries in the world. The IBA has never counted advertisements or promotional material which are made in the UK in our overseas regulations; consequently the actual duration of overseas material is used in the quota calculation.

These facts are not hidden. The IBA's regulations are given out to all interested parties both within and outside the Independent Television system, including the broadcasting trade unions who want less quota, and distributors and producers from abroad who want more. They have been given to the press and anyone else who needs them. The IBA has regular discussions with the broadcasting unions and gives them fully detailed figures when they ask for them. The regulations certainly reflect,

among other things, the wish of the trades unions to see maximum employment opportunities for their members. Mr Davis mentions Commonwealth material. Until 1978 all Commonwealth programmes were exempted from quota. In 1978 the IBA decided that Commonwealth material should be included within the quota. This decision was reviewed and in 1983 it was decided to allow up to one and a half per cent of transmission time to be exempt for Commonwealth material. We made the latest changes partly because of representations from Commonwealth governments and broadcasters who pointed out that they showed a great deal of ITV material and felt that they deserved something in return. The IBA's subsequent research shows that a great deal of the Commonwealth material is particularly popular in rating and appreciation terms.

Mr Davis is dismissive of Sesame Street. The IBA has always allowed this to be exempted because it is an outstandingly good programme of its type and falls within the "education" category of quota exempt material. Mr Davis was completely wrong in saying that Thames were "systematically infringing" the IBA quota regulations. Neither Thames — nor incidentally the other London company, LWT — were over their quota allowance. Nor were they or any other company over their peaktime quota — another detailed safeguard upon the amounts of imported material not mentioned by Mr Davis. We do not understand Mr Davis's calculations about Thames. He seems to have muddled various statistics that he was given: At one point he says that Thames transmitted either 17.8 per cent or 19.5 per cent of quota even if various quota exempt material was excluded. Neither are true. In the period under discussion Thames transmitted 12.9 per cent quota material; quota exempt overseas material formed 7.1 per cent of Thames's output. These figures are not unusual and they are certainly within the

existing broadcasters and there could well be implications for the quota regulations. The IBA does not automatically think that the present position about the imported material on ITV and Channel 4 is correct and unchanging. We constantly review the situation and try by a variety of types of audience research to assess how the public feels. At present, both ratings and appreciation research, as well as other more general research, show that there does not seem to be public disquiet about either American or other programmes from overseas on either ITV or Channel 4.

The IBA is accused by Mr Davis of inactivity and acceptance of the ITV companies' commercial interests. It is accused by the companies, however, of being interventionist and unyielding in its approach to their scheduling of overseas material. The IBA's concern is to see a balanced schedule in which imported programmes have a legitimate but limited place.

The forthcoming arrival of cable and satellite broadcasting will undoubtedly present challenges and problems for

the existing broadcasters and there could well be implications for the quota regulations. The IBA does not automatically think that the present position about the imported material on ITV and Channel 4 is correct and unchanging. We constantly review the situation and try by a variety of types of audience research to assess how the public feels. At present, both ratings and appreciation research, as well as other more general research, show that there does not seem to be public disquiet about either American or other programmes from overseas on either ITV or Channel 4.

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## Media File....

**THE BATTLE for Debenhams** department store group hot up, and with it the role of the media in letting the combatants get at each other. Perhaps more to the point, in helping them get at the investors and other creators of sentiment on whom such crucial matters as share price might depend. On which subject we can offer a rare insight into how the main protagonists have been trying to make sure it is seen in the most positive light.

It comes courtesy of the image-makers' trade paper, PR Week. This regularly runs a case study of some particularly knotty professional problem under the frank rubric Crisis PR. The most recent just before Burton and Sir Terence Conran went public with their bid, was Debenhams' media defence strategy, masterminded by the prominent City PR firm Charles Barker Lyons. With the televised announcement of the management's buy-out plan just the tip of a deliberately high-profile attack.

Two top CBL people and eight Debenhams directors were put on to a strategic PR committee, which apart from the corridors of influence stuff in the City itself, also devised a multi-pronged media programme detailed by PR Week.

"The press was frequently briefed, and leading writers were offered exclusive profiles. Journalists were reassured to rapidly, and given in as subtle a way as possible much more information than they were asking for. Whenever possible, slight changes were made to Debenhams' policies and plans in order to create positive news stories."

Company directors, including chairman Robert Thornton, were made "as available as possible for comments and interviews, often abandoning company business for days at a time to deal with the press."

The annual report was expanded to include a view of future potential by the firm been not to be seen as just a store group. Charles Barker City was involved on the advertising side. And to cap it, the buy-out play, with its £500 millions tag, was saved for the cameras.

With the Debenhams share price by now up from 200p to 350p in three months, Charles Barker Lyons' Peter Bell chamber was not dissatisfied. "So far, there has been no bid at all... It is possible there will still be a bid, but it is a lot less likely now... long time in public relations. But it is good to know that someone in there is so keen to keep the rest of us so well informed."

There are still great gaps in the amount of interpretation possible — we cannot yet sort out how many sample homes and how many the five channel package, for instance. And there is a down-market thrust initially because so many of the first cable homes are of upgraded old relay systems.

There is no way of knowing how these households used television before they had the extra cable channels, and if the take-up grows as the cable operators hope and pray, the company's view of the future surveys and tapes (taken in the four weeks to Easter) will presumably also become less valid.

But the JOCAR operation, with ex-Radio Rentals director Eric Starkey as chairman and help from the ring, and Survey Research Associates doing the data-gathering, seems intent on publishing more detail than some similar bodies. Given the commercial sensitivities of some of the operators involved this is particularly welcome.

It looks as though some intriguing material could emerge as the analysis becomes more refined. The diaries kept by the 10,000-plus respondents, for instance, monitors use of VCRs as well as broadcast and cable channels. And while it confirms the relatively low use of pre-recorded videos referred to elsewhere on this page, the researchers will be seeking evidence of one apparent quirk: given the decision between watching a cable movie while recording the EBC (say), or watching the live broadcast and taping the cable offering, subscribers seem to prefer recording the movie channels and taping the cable, in spite of the fact that the movie channels make a point out of showing everything several times anyway.

But it's early days yet. They may just be wanting to convince themselves they are getting value for money like the sales-pitch said they would.

**Peter Fiddick**  
Media Editor



NOBODY invited the video industry to become involved in British Film Year, to the annoyance of some of the members who point out that four and a half million tapes are rented each week in Britain and 60,000 cassettes sold. With 34 per cent of British households now believed to have a video recorder, it seems that films in Britain are viewed, more often than not, on the small screen.

But while the British film industry combats problems of poor service to customers, lack of investment and inadequate distribution, the video trade faces its own bugs — the worst of which is its image. In its more rabid moments, Fleet Street has tried to persuade us that kids spend most of their time watching Driller Killer on video, while rapists and murderers are fuelled exclusively by video porn.

Often singled out in the trade is the so-called "back street" video shop, the kind of place which might have been opened with somebody's redundancy money in the hope of cashing in on the yearned-for video boom. Piracy of cassettes has flourished among such outlets, who lack the capital to afford stocks of the official products, though increased penalties and tougher enforcement have reduced the quality of the tapes on the market from 60 per cent of the total a year ago to a still-better 20 per cent.

If, as Video Week's editor David Dalton says, the public frequently view the video dealer as "one down the line from a sex shop," this is undoubtedly one reason why 60 per cent of video recorders in



Something for everyone; Driller Killer, left, and The Evil That Men Do, right

Which way video? Adam Sweeting reports on how the industry is fighting to improve its tarnished image

**The tape measures that fit the bill**

the home are used exclusively for time-shifting of broadcast programmes. It appears that many upright people simply won't set foot inside a video dealer's shop. Another factor is that the Video Recordings Act is still awaiting Parliamentary clarification, a situation which generates uncertainty — hardly encouraging for an industry still finding its feet.

The big distributors of films on cassette are having to grin and bear it. Contrary to popular belief, retailing movies on video has proved to be a licence to print money. Movies, it is generally agreed, are predominantly a rental commodity — rental account for 90 per cent of turnover.

The passer-by might observe that it's no wonder few people buy cassettes of feature films when they retail for £50. Distributors CIC made a lone attempt to lower prices by selling their blockbuster titles to dealers at £13.50 instead of the industry norm of around £35 (though CIC have subsequently raised prices to £17.50). With retail prices thus down to around £20, CIC shifted an unprecedented 100,000 copies of Raiders of the Lost Ark, remarkable considering 20,000-30,000 copies sold is regarded as a success story. CIC also did well with such titles as Terms of Endearment, Flashdance and Trading Places at the lower price.

In spite of this, other distributors have tended to try to push prices higher to squeeze what profit they can out of the video market. "We're not convinced there is a sale market for films," says Thorn EMI's David Finch, voicing a broad-



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In spite of this, other distributors have tended to try to push prices higher to squeeze what profit they can out of the video market. "We're not convinced there is a sale market for films," says Thorn EMI's David Finch, voicing a broad-

local chains catering shrewdly to customer requirements. The market is a mix of euphoria behind the counter.

Mr Russell Cohen runs KR Video in Rosebery Avenue, not far from this newspaper's offices. He thinks people are bored with watching videos. Though the market has levelled out after a steady decline over the last year or 18 months, he sees no sign of improvement.

"I don't think the video industry as a whole is especially healthy," says Grant Roderby of Laser Video in Rosslyn Hill, London's longest-surviving specialist video shop. He'd like to see an end to the "wally element" among dealers, and would also like customers to appreciate that they can't always hire the cassette of their choice on the spur of the moment — to add a single cassette to his

3,500-strong library in VHS and Beta formats costs him £100. Laser is raising its rental charges to 22.50 per cassette for two nights, in line with the industry's bid to prevent the devaluing of the pre-recorded cassette as an entertainment medium.

If Gary Schofield at Warner Home Video insists that the video trade is healthy and that most dealers are professional, Thorn EMI's David Finch admits that if his company's only line of business was feature films on video, they'd be struggling.

Norman Abbott at the BVA may have hit the right note when he points to a streamlining of the video industry, with 1983 a year of consolidation after a necessary breaking of 1982's meteoric growth. "Trends are sound," he pronounces. Coming soon — British Video Year?

## Derek Jameson on small-screen journalism

### View, what a scorcher

IT'S STRANGE how newspapers get all the kudos, while those of us who earn a crust in television make a halo with our radio mike the second we step out of the van. This is based on the quaint notion that television is in living, moving, talking colour and the camera surely cannot tell a lie.

Once upon a time, in the days before someone discovered 144-point Bold headlines, people similarly believed: "It must be true, I read it in the paper." That mantle has now passed to the television screen, which explains why many a pop star or politician who refuses to talk to the Daily Bugle is never shy about going into make-up ready to address the world.

Since we have a large boot firmly planted in both camps, it is time to straighten out a few misconceptions about these rival branches of the media. In television, it is the pictures that set the pace. No matter how important the story, the way in which it is projected will depend on what footage is available. The more pictures, the greater the opportunity for the reporter to say his piece as a voice over all those loving moving images.

That is why we know a great deal more about the situation in southern Lebanon than we do about how one in seven of the adult population in many parts of Britain cope with a world without work. Bombs, debris, tanks, refugees, warring factions and the like come under the heading of action pictures — so let's have plenty of 'em.

In contrast, newspapers are not governed by graphics. They have room to run the words around the pictures — and indeed can even tell stories without pictures.

Where pictures are available, television will stretch them to the utmost to give the reporter space, but there is a limit to how many dull, banal images they can put on the screen to accommodate the words.

A cameraman told me the other day that he had filmed Archibuteus, something like 79 times in the past year, coming in and out of approximately the same building with approximately the same expression on his face.

Ditto the other side because where goes ITN, there goes the BBC and vice versa. Since there are only two competitors in this game, they do each other's footsteps to make sure neither party secures an advantage. And if they don't get wallpaper, the reporter will be asked into the editing chamber.

To take a recent example, 25 Cambridge football supporters went down for 20 years at the Old Bailey last week for taking part in a blitzkrieg against Chelsea fans in February, 1982.

All the essential details were there in my bulletin, but the viewer was left with a list of unanswered questions that only the next day's newspapers could answer. Was this one gang, making a concerted attack? What motivated "The General," Leslie Murray, said to be the ring leader? Why Cambridge, of all places? And who ever heard of Cambridge United?

No pictures, you see. So the storyline suffers.

So television reporters start out on the same basis as their newspaper colleagues, but will never compete on detail and essential background unless they are given time and space to breathe in the picture straitjacket.

Inside the studios, even more difficult rules apply. Breakfast television, chat shows and other news-based programmes shot as "live" material turn preaters into instant experts on everything from Japanese flower arranging to Wham's latest hit.

They are fed a few sparse scenes from research, usually lifted from newspapers, which they may be lucky enough to get on air as a rough script. Then it is a quick burst of questions and on to the next.

No wonder so many idols of the telly screen keep tripping up over daft questions. It isn't their fault. The newspaperman will stay with his subject for a day, a week, even a month if necessary. The television interviewer has to think in seconds.

The results can be unfortunate. I remember sitting in a regional television studio being asked my view on the green pound, a somewhat startling question since my presence had been requested as a tabloid newspaper editor.

Naturally I waffled on about farmers, subsidies, featherbedding, Europe and all the rest of it. Like many another, I had the faintest idea what we were supposed to be talking about.

In full flight, I was hit by the next question: "And what do you think of Page 3 girls?"

The explanation came in the pub later. Apparently the control box had sent an urgent amendment whistling down the presenter's earpiece: "Hang on, that's the bloody editor, not the National Farmers' Union. Ask him about mules."

That's showbiz, folks. Trouble is, they call it journalism.



William Howard Russell, war correspondent, and, right, one of his famous despatches from the Crimea

## Mike McNay on an exhibition that traces the history of a great newspaper

### In the Times honoured fashion

SPEAKING of the new owner of The Times, one of the captions in the British Library's bicentenary exhibition of the paper notes: "This whirlwind, while clearing debris from dusty corridors, could not proceed without causing great damage. Staff were dismissed, and the first shots were heard in a battle which was to rage far into the future. Who controlled the contents of the newspaper? The Editor or the Proprietor? The front line was never to be defined."

How true; though the occasion for this caption was Lord Northcliffe's acquisition of The Times in 1908. Some things don't change, but in other ways continuity is not quite so easy to trace. The Murdoch/Dowd era has been a time of great change, but in other ways continuity is not quite so easy to trace. The Murdoch/Dowd era has been a time of great change, but in other ways continuity is not quite so easy to trace.

letters to the editor: if you want continuity, you must look to the first cuckoo in Printing House Square.

Normal service was first interrupted when the Times libelled Farnell inadvertently. It published a letter that apparently implicated Farnell in murder, but which was a forgery. Lesser papers than The Times have fallen into the same trap since with more or less impunity, but morale at The Times and its reputation with the public suffered for a generation.

Northcliffe rescued it from its slough of despond 20 years later just as William Haley and then Roy Thomson were to revive the paper after the appearance of years and the post-war period of narrow elitism. Revisionist history suggests that appeasement was not that bad — Dewson, a Times columnist airily wrote recently, "was a leader-writing journal." Maybe, but the evidence is that from the accession to power of Adolf Hitler the leader — writing journal was censoring his Berlin correspondent's copy to avoid anything "that was the

least likely to offend Hitler," as one observer remarked in 1933 in a phrase to be echoed later in Geoffrey Dawson's infamous admission.

The great years of The Times, in its first century under John Walter II, Barnes, and Delamare are attractively illustrated by the British Library: years when the paper hired its own sailing packet and trained its own carrier pigeons to fetch foreign intelligence, as it was called until quite recently, to Blackfriars. Russell's eye-witness report of the charge of the Light Brigade, reproduced in facsimile, is at least as affecting as Tennyson's stirring verse and was a good deal more politically effective.

The Times pioneered, too, in its methods of production and, later, in its typography. It hired Stanley Morrison first as consultant designer and then to invent a whole new range of type, and through all the vicissitudes of the half century since The Times has never looked less than decent and at its best magnificent.

Two hundred years is illustrated with stereo plates, page

schemes, mezzotints of Peterloo and of Gordon in Khartoum, E. R. Haydon's oil of customers in a coffee house queuing to read the heavily-taxed Times, and despatches from such variously celebrated correspondents as Henri de Blowitz and E. A. R. (Kim) Philby.

The British Library does full justice to most of those years, but fits a little sky of recent history, with its stoppages, its editor fired after a year in the chair, its second-World-War debacle, this time over the forged diaries, and its descent to the street not to the gutter, of course, but out there jostling and elbowing with the worst of them trying to push up circulation without distorting the AB advertising profile, trying to attract young readers without losing the golden oldies.

This new Times has another hyphenated editor but this time with a Glasgow hard case at his elbow. The months and years as it moves into its third century should be more than usually fascinating.

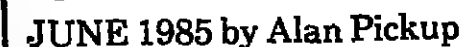
Signs of The Times at the British Library until June 30.

سكرا من الامهل





## Survival was in danger; but since 1980 Seat has come on as Spain's expanding car maker: Roy Harry reports



# The Armada on four wheels

And what, in the name of Heaven, is supposed to be my response when I see a stickler saying "Caution, Show Dogs In Transit." More so when it's matched by an anti-nuclear rosette: invariably in Welsh or Breton.

service Parts

RING NOW 038

earth and has a telescopic angular diameter of 44 arc seconds measured across its equator, and 41 arc seconds measured from pole to pole.

service Parts

RING NOW 038

**GUARDIAN**







**RUGBY LEAGUE:** Canterbury defeated St Helens 30-24 in the first match of the English club's tour of New Zealand. The game was locked at 24-24 when the Canterbury captain David Field scored a try in the most on full time.



# Big heat on the strikers



**SCOTTISH SALUTE . . .** Gough, right, awaits Miller's congratulations after the winner at Hampden Park on Saturday.

# Generous Brown as Norwich go down

Mackay added he felt sorry for Norwich's manager Ken Brown, saying: "I know how I was in his shoes. But he is a pro—he knows the highs and lows and he is good enough to bounce back, to get his team sorted out and on top of the top sides in the Second Division next season."

Rousson's team has reached the stage at which the foundations are solid and the framework unyielding but the overall construction is still some way from winning a design award. England are hard to beat; they are getting harder to watch.

Again Francis did the bulk of the running, spinning and twisting around the fringe of a crowded penalty area. But apart from one turn and

"In my own mind," said Robson, "the team is fairly well settled. But over the next year we've got to find our most lethal goalscoring trio, strikers who can work well together and can score goals to win matches." Since this will be the aim of every

The goal that raised Scotland's flagging spirits involved four of their best players. From Souness, who

**ENGLAND:** Station (Surrey/Hants):  
Agricultural Bureau (North Amesbury,  
Hampshire) (Lisieux, Leicester, 80 min),  
Pewee (QPR), Barcher (Ipswich), Robins  
(Manchester U), Wilkins, Rakeby (both AC  
Milton), Francis (Swansea), Barnes  
(Watford), Wadette, Newcastle, 62 min),  
Reverie M. Watnot (Fr).

return to his most influential form, while the similarly sizeable Gough provided a reminder of how handy a young man he is to have around when the pressure is on.

The decision to come to Iceland at this time has long seemed questionable. Dalglish and other Liverpool players are missing because of the European Cup final. And it could have been worse - had Aberdeen, rather

# Storm clouds clear and youthful talent shines



Miss Richards, could hardly  
tise a gallop.  
ago when the  
championships were last at An-  
tim. Steve Overtt won the  
500m in the vest of Phoenix  
C. He was not there this  
time, but the  
to form took both  
500m titles. Mark Rowland,  
men's, and 17-year-old Brid-  
at Smyth, the women's with a  
second. She was  
four seconds from her  
previous mark. She tucked in  
behind the bigger girls against  
the wind and the best strate-  
gy then opened up. She ran  
with a fierce little kick off the  
end and just held on; it was a  
mighty little performance with all  
the pressure.  
augurs well for Miss Smith's  
main objective of the summer,  
a challenge in the European

## SWIMMING

**Brian Crowther**  
**Gloom for**  
**selectors**  
**at Leeds**

Steve Poulter of Wigan was also able to raise himself above the general inactivity in the 400 metres individual medley in 4min 24.70sec. His swim brought the number of competitors who have broken the established British standards for S6 to six. Poulter was the second fastest time by a European this far.

The selectors have a team of 15 to pick tonight; there are unlikely to be enough swimmers to enable them to select a full team, so they will choose about 10 swimmers which were set too high and too late, with disastrous effects on the swimmers'.

**Elliott sparkles  
as sun appears**

## CYCLING

John Kerr at Windsor  
**Blue Max ju**  
**EQUESTRIAN**  
Penella Fawcens and Blue

After having a broken nose reset, he will be prepared to quell the lead before an all-out effort during the march on the fifth week.

**MEAN KICK (Broomhunts) —** Freddie M. Elliott (6-6) 1m 39.9sec, 2-1, 3-1, 4-1, 5-1, 6-1, 7-1, 8-1, 9-1, 10-1, 11-1, 12-1, 13-1, 14-1, 15-1, 16-1, 17-1, 18-1, 19-1, 20-1, 21-1, 22-1, 23-1, 24-1, 25-1, 26-1, 27-1, 28-1, 29-1, 30-1, 31-1, 32-1, 33-1, 34-1, 35-1, 36-1, 37-1, 38-1, 39-1, 40-1, 41-1, 42-1, 43-1, 44-1, 45-1, 46-1, 47-1, 48-1, 49-1, 50-1, 51-1, 52-1, 53-1, 54-1, 55-1, 56-1, 57-1, 58-1, 59-1, 60-1, 61-1, 62-1, 63-1, 64-1, 65-1, 66-1, 67-1, 68-1, 69-1, 70-1, 71-1, 72-1, 73-1, 74-1, 75-1, 76-1, 77-1, 78-1, 79-1, 80-1, 81-1, 82-1, 83-1, 84-1, 85-1, 86-1, 87-1, 88-1, 89-1, 90-1, 91-1, 92-1, 93-1, 94-1, 95-1, 96-1, 97-1, 98-1, 99-1, 100-1, 101-1, 102-1, 103-1, 104-1, 105-1, 106-1, 107-1, 108-1, 109-1, 110-1, 111-1, 112-1, 113-1, 114-1, 115-1, 116-1, 117-1, 118-1, 119-1, 120-1, 121-1, 122-1, 123-1, 124-1, 125-1, 126-1, 127-1, 128-1, 129-1, 130-1, 131-1, 132-1, 133-1, 134-1, 135-1, 136-1, 137-1, 138-1, 139-1, 140-1, 141-1, 142-1, 143-1, 144-1, 145-1, 146-1, 147-1, 148-1, 149-1, 150-1, 151-1, 152-1, 153-1, 154-1, 155-1, 156-1, 157-1, 158-1, 159-1, 160-1, 161-1, 162-1, 163-1, 164-1, 165-1, 166-1, 167-1, 168-1, 169-1, 170-1, 171-1, 172-1, 173-1, 174-1, 175-1, 176-1, 177-1, 178-1, 179-1, 180-1, 181-1, 182-1, 183-1, 184-1, 185-1, 186-1, 187-1, 188-1, 189-1, 190-1, 191-1, 192-1, 193-1, 194-1, 195-1, 196-1, 197-1, 198-1, 199-1, 200-1, 201-1, 202-1, 203-1, 204-1, 205-1, 206-1, 207-1, 208-1, 209-1, 210-1, 211-1, 212-1, 213-1, 214-1, 215-1, 216-1, 217-1, 218-1, 219-1, 220-1, 221-1, 222-1, 223-1, 224-1, 225-1, 226-1, 227-1, 228-1, 229-1, 230-1, 231-1, 232-1, 233-1, 234-1, 235-1, 236-1, 237-1, 238-1, 239-1, 240-1, 241-1, 242-1, 243-1, 244-1, 245-1, 246-1, 247-1, 248-1, 249-1, 250-1, 251-1, 252-1, 253-1, 254-1, 255-1, 256-1, 257-1, 258-1, 259-1, 260-1, 261-1, 262-1, 263-1, 264-1, 265-1, 266-1, 267-1, 268-1, 269-1, 270-1, 271-1, 272-1, 273-1, 274-1, 275-1, 276-1, 277-1, 278-1, 279-1, 280-1, 281-1, 282-1, 283-1, 284-1, 285-1, 286-1, 287-1, 288-1, 289-1, 290-1, 291-1, 292-1, 293-1, 294-1, 295-1, 296-1, 297-1, 298-1, 299-1, 300-1, 301-1, 302-1, 303-1, 304-1, 305-1, 306-1, 307-1, 308-1, 309-1, 310-1, 311-1, 312-1, 313-1, 314-1, 315-1, 316-1, 317-1, 318-1, 319-1, 320-1, 321-1, 322-1, 323-1, 324-1, 325-1, 326-1, 327-1, 328-1, 329-1, 330-1, 331-1, 332-1, 333-1, 334-1, 335-1, 336-1, 337-1, 338-1, 339-1, 340-1, 341-1, 342-1, 343-1, 344-1, 345-1, 346-1, 347-1, 348-1, 349-1, 350-1, 351-1, 352-1, 353-1, 354-1, 355-1, 356-1, 357-1, 358-1, 359-1, 360-1, 361-1, 362-1, 363-1, 364-1, 365-1, 366-1, 367-1, 368-1, 369-1, 370-1, 371-1, 372-1, 373-1, 374-1, 375-1, 376-1, 377-1, 378-1, 379-1, 380-1, 381-1, 382-1, 383-1, 384-1, 385-1, 386-1, 387-1, 388-1, 389-1, 390-1, 391-1, 392-1, 393-1, 394-1, 395-1, 396-1, 397-1, 398-1, 399-1, 400-1, 401-1, 402-1, 403-1, 404-1, 405-1, 406-1, 407-1, 408-1, 409-1, 410-1, 411-1, 412-1, 413-1, 414-1, 415-1, 416-1, 417-1, 418-1, 419-1, 420-1, 421-1, 422-1, 423-1, 424-1, 425-1, 426-1, 427-1, 428-1, 429-1, 430-1, 431-1, 432-1, 433-1, 434-1, 435-1, 436-1, 437-1, 438-1, 439-1, 440-1, 441-1, 442-1, 443-1, 444-1, 445-1, 446-1, 447-1, 448-1, 449-1, 450-1, 451-1, 452-1, 453-1, 454-1, 455-1, 456-1, 457-1, 458-1, 459-1, 460-1, 461-1, 462-1, 463-1, 464-1, 465-1, 466-1, 467-1, 468-1, 469-1, 470-1, 471-1, 472-1, 473-1, 474-1, 475-1, 476-1, 477-1, 478-1, 479-1, 480-1, 481-1, 482-1, 483-1, 484-1, 485-1, 486-1, 487-1, 488-1, 489-1, 490-1, 491-1, 492-1, 493-1, 494-1, 495-1, 496-1, 497-1, 498-1, 499-1, 500-1, 501-1, 502-1, 503-1, 504-1, 505-1, 506-1, 507-1, 508-1, 509-1, 510-1, 511-1, 512-1, 513-1, 514-1, 515-1, 516-1, 517-1, 518-1, 519-1, 520-1, 521-1, 522-1, 523-1, 524-1, 525-1, 526-1, 527-1, 528-1, 529-1, 530-1, 531-1, 532-1, 533-1, 534-1, 535-1, 536-1, 537-1, 538-1, 539-1, 540-1, 541-1, 542-1, 543-1, 544-1, 545-1, 546-1, 547-1, 548-1, 549-1, 550-1, 551-1, 552-1, 553-1, 554-1, 555-1, 556-1, 557-1, 558-1, 559-1, 560-1, 561-1, 562-1, 563-1, 564-1, 565-1, 566-1, 567-1, 568-1, 569-1, 570-1, 571-1, 572-1, 573-1, 574-1, 575-1, 576-1, 577-1, 578-1, 579-1, 580-1, 581-1, 582-1, 583-1, 584-1, 585-1, 586-1, 587-1, 588-1, 589-1, 590-1, 591-1, 59

# Vamott's Wight magic

...elected and started to claw  
back the deficit, with Jones,  
who has returned to England  
after racing on the Continent  
for the past few years, doing a  
lot of the work. Much of the  
action took place in torrential  
rain, but was watched by thou-  
sands of spectators.

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**SAILING**  
**Bob Fisher**  
**Bateleur still**  
**undefeated**  
A dismasting and crew member  
packed overboard endorsed

their two most voted players, Sigurvinsson and Gudjonsson, are out through injury.

**SCOTTED** U-21s (v. Iceland U-21) **NEWBY**, today 5.30 pm.—**SCOTT** (Aberdeen), **McKenna** (Aberdeen), **McGinley** (Dundee), **Conner** (Aberdeen), **Clarke** (Aberdeen), **Lamie** (Hearts), **Stark** (Aberdeen), **Scam** (Dundee), **Stuart** (Aberdeen), **McCall** (Glasgow), **Stuart** (Dundee).

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## SOCCER IN BRIEF

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**STOKE City** will have talks with **Southampton's** former England defender and captain **Mick Mills** this week about the managerial vacancy at the

## SOCCER IN BRIEF

**ANDERLECHT**, Belgian champions for the 18th time, completed their League season with a 4-3 victory at Lokeren that took their goal total to 100 from 34 games.

**KHOREN** capped 25 times for the Soviet Union, has been banned from the game for "gross violations of discipline," a Soviet newspaper has reported. His suspension is just one of many handed out to players and officials of the Soviet team, who have slumped to third from bottom of the First Division.

**DESTROYED** **VERDINGEN** de-  
stroyed Bayern Munich's  
double hopes by winning the  
West German Cup final in  
Berlin for the first time yes-  
terday. Goals by Feilzer and  
Schaefer gave the Krefeld club  
a 2-1 victory after Hoeness  
opened the scoring.

[illegible][illegible]

Principal prize of the Windsor tree-day event, yesterday's Captain Mark Phillips and his wife, Anne, were crowned winners following an impressive cross-country performance. They stopped to fifth place, having fallen down in the final show-jumping test.

Sporadic rain meant slippery ground for the last phase and the round was over at the first round, with the two earlier minor sections only five from the emerged unpenalized and the proportion was only slightly higher for the main event.

And a second error at the final treble cost the rider four places.

Miss Fawcett, who also won here last year with Blue Max, admitted later that she thought she had not a hope of victory, but that she was "lucky" because it was not the best of show jumpers.

There were no dramatic surprises in the junior championship, the leading three all going clear to retain their positions. Alexandra Edmund, who last year was runner-up, was the winner of Bazarde-Ber fourth section in a fortnight.

ced by the 210 yachts in the Scottish series yesterday. Geoffrey Wolfenden's Sigma 32 poorly suffered the broken mast; and Jacqueline Macdonald came from the water with a fractured collarbone after an accident aboard her father's 35ft Starlicker. Southerly winds were gusting gale force.

Chris Bonar's three-quarter tonne Sigma 32 was the mid-race favourite for the overall prize. After winning her class the first two races she made it three in a row yesterday.

Willie Madden, club manager, signed a two-year contract after working without one during his first season. The club's former coach, George Armstrong, has joined Max Allen, now in charge of Kuwait's national team, as his assistant.

**VERDINGEN** defeated Bayern Munich's double hopes by winning the German Cup final in Berlin for the first time yesterday. Goals by Kretz and Schaefer gave the Krefeld club a 2-1 victory after Honess opened the scoring.

صبرنا من الراحل















## Union chief seeks investigation by Public Accounts Committee

# Britain will lose £57m in collapse of Lear Fan

From Bob Rodwell in Belfast

The Government is unlikely to recover any of the £57 million it invested in the Lear Fan American executive aircraft venture with the aim of creating high-technology jobs in Northern Ireland.

At the time that the Lear Fan board decided in Los Angeles last Friday to close trading immediately there were only 27 Ulster workers left on the project.

Hopes that Lear Fan's original promise of 1,100 jobs in Ulster — subsequently inflated to 2,800 — would be realised, had long been abandoned and the board's final decision has met with only weary resignation in Belfast.

The highest figure the Ulster payroll reached was 370, but all but a handful were made redundant a year ago when continuing airworthiness certification delays indefinitely postponed series production of the all fibre twin-turbo-carbon prop aircraft.

Most of those made redundant have found employment at Shorts, the Belfast planemakers, British Aerospace, and companies abroad.

Stormont authorities declined to comment on the collapse yesterday although Dr Rhodri Iwan Jones, the Northern Ireland Minister of State, has promised a Commons announcement when MPs return from their Whitlun recess.

Comparisons with the De

Lorean debacle, however, are firmly dismissed by officials who say that while De Lorean was based entirely upon United Kingdom tax-payers' money, Lear Fan had substantial private capital, too.

Its failure is seen primarily as one of engineering, which might have been reversed, given time and cash — whereas the sports car crash was based on rash marketing predictions.

But Ulster's Industrial Development Board fears that their second such well-publicised debacle within two years will keep investment away from the province.

Critics of the project in Belfast yesterday were urging a government campaign to stress that the collapse had nothing to do with the competence and experience of Ulster workers.

Trade unions, however, did draw parallels with De Lorean. Mr Tony Carlin, northern officer of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, is to ask the Commons Public Accounts Committee to carry out a full investigation into why government support was continued for so long. The Government first became involved in 1980. The PAC strongly criticised Stormont's role over De Lorean.

Other critics yesterday claimed that similarly generous cash backing for local companies might have created many more secure jobs in the province.

## Saboteur blamed for boat race crash

By a Staff Reporter

The speedboat driver Gina Campbell narrowly escaped death yesterday in an accident believed to have been caused by a saboteur.

Gina, daughter of Donald Campbell, was among the leaders of yesterday's powerboat race off Poole, Cornwall, when her gearbox and propeller sheared at 80 mph.

Her boat, Bluebird IV, spun through 180 degrees, missing other front-running craft by only a few feet, and narrowly escaping overturning in the choppy seas.

Experts were investigating after two other boats in the race were found to have been sabotaged.

Race scrutineers who examined the boats after the race discovered that vital bolts had been loosened.

Miss Campbell said later: "We're lucky to be alive. If we had hit one of the other boats which were only a few feet away, or if we'd capsized as we went broadside into the waves, we would have been killed."

A race spokesman said: "The chief scrutineer examined all three craft and is convinced of sabotage. Bolts had been deliberately loosened. Miss Campbell and her co-driver could easily have been killed. There will be an official investigation."

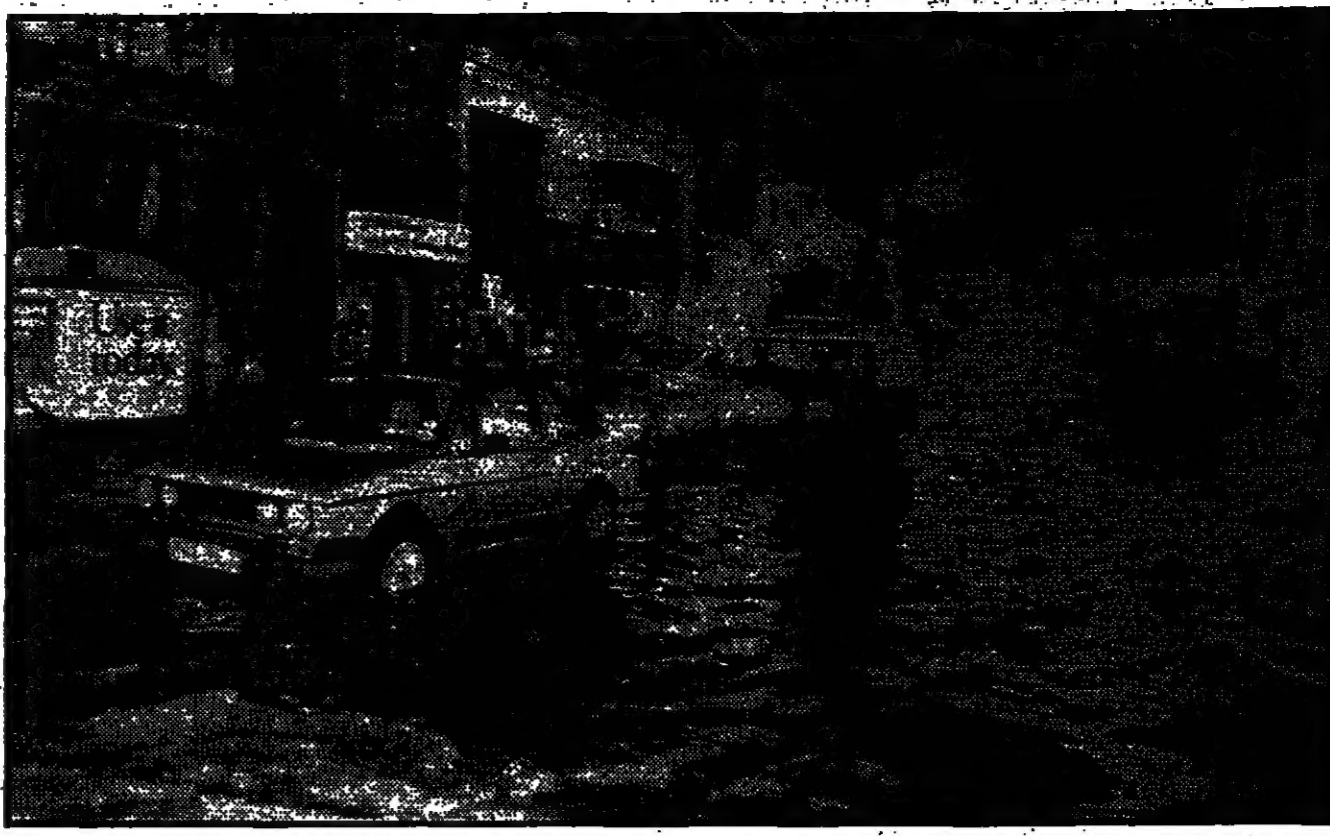
Tormenting thunderstorms, traffic jams, accidents, and outbreaks of violence spoiled the holiday weekend for many, with weathermen and motoring organisations making further gloomy forecasts for today.

Skinheads at Bournemouth attacked a pub on Saturday night with bottles and tear-gas canisters. Two special courts will sit today to deal with the 43 arrested and charged.

In Reading a policeman was attacked by a gang of 150 youths. Last night he was recovering in hospital from back, neck, and shoulder wounds. Four youths have been charged.

There were at least 10 deaths on the roads yesterday as heavy traffic ran into the effects of the bad weather. In Hampshire a young woman was killed and three others were injured by a hit-and-run driver at Farnham, and a 12-year-old girl was killed at Farnham as she crossed a dual carriageway.

Lightning caused damage to police stations in Hampshire and Sussex and started several fires. All along the Devon and Cornwall coasts downpours kept the beaches deserted, and Torquay town centre was flooded to a depth of one foot.



Union Street, Torquay, last night, where heavy rain left water a foot deep, forcing drivers to abandon their cars.

## Ban new SA funds - Owen

By James Naughtie, Chief Political Correspondent

Dr David Owen, the Social Democratic Party leader, yesterday urged the government to ban new investment in South Africa to put international pressure on the Pretoria regime. In a letter to Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, Dr Owen said the South Africans had been intransigent and deceitful over Namibian independence.

He said: "The South Africans dislike being exposed as international liars and have always hidden behind a bogus image of being the upholders of the rule of law. In fact, of course, they have frequently lied, frequently broken international law, and frequently misled governments with whom they have been negotiating."

Sir Geoffrey should urge the government and the other contact group members to put a ban on new loans to South African companies and prevent them raising loans abroad.

It was extremely important that the pressure be stepped up on the South Africans to abide by UN Resolution 435 on Namibia.

Last week Mr David Steel, the Liberal leader, called for a declaration of intent on economic relations similar to the Gleneagles Agreement on sporting contacts designed to isolate South Africa and increase international pressure for significant changes in apartheid and on Namibia.

## Pit deputies claim provocation and halt some emergency cover

By John Ardill, Labour Correspondent

Some members of the pit deputies union Nacods, which is banning overtime in a dispute over mine closure consultation, refused even emergency cover at the weekend, the general secretary, Mr Peter McNestry, claimed yesterday.

He described it as a reaction against management last week using those who provided emergency cover as evidence that the ban was not being obeyed.

Mr McNestry said men who worked in South Midlands were told that many more were working elsewhere. They were told that the union's executive, and some members in Yorkshire, the North-west, North-east and Scotland refused to supervise NUM members manning pumps and providing other emergency cover.

A National Coal Board spokesman said he had no figures for the number of Nacods members working this weekend, the second of the dispute. But he said the demand for weekend overtime working was below normal because of holiday closures.

The union, which wants it to withdraw a document on the closure or cut back of pits damaged during the miners' strike and to honour its pledge that all closure proposals will be put through the colliery review procedure.

The board remained adamant yesterday that it would not hold talks until Nacods suspends the industrial action. The deputy chairman, Mr James Cowan, said yesterday that the board was convinced that agreement was in sight.

He denied a newspaper report that he and the chairman, Mr Ian MacGregor, were "virtually isolated" in wanting a hard line response to the dispute.

The chief personnel officer, Mr Michael Eaton, who was said in the report to be unhappy with Mr MacGregor's approach, said he "disassociated himself completely" from the article.

Mr McNestry, Nacods general secretary, last night revealed the uncompromising approach being taken by the board.

He said: "The board is determined to make the point that if a Nacods official leaves his place of work before management check by Jowl with Shiffes, but because with the growth of their military power in the capital itself, the Palestinians would acquire a particularly effective means of asserting themselves in the Lebanese political arena, at the Shiffes' expense."

Whether Syria gave Amal the approval to attack the camps, or whether the fighting just grew out of intercommunal antagonism, is largely academic. In any case, it fits in with the Syrian design, and after two days of coyness, Damascus came out behind Amal. It insisted that its Palestinian allies of the Beirut camps were a clear and present danger, not merely

because, in the populous southern suburbs, Palestinians live cheek by jowl with Shiffes, but because with the growth of their military power in the capital itself, the Palestinians would acquire a particularly effective means of asserting themselves in the Lebanese political arena, at the Shiffes' expense."

Here, however, Syria's calculations began to go awry. It apparently did not take enough account of one fundamental instinct — survival — which has proved stronger than ideological or tactical commitment to the Syrian side of the great Arab divide over the Mideast "peace process."

The sympathies of the Beirut camp-dwellers lie essentially with Arafat. Recognising that the Salvation Front reached an understanding with the Arafat loyalists on two

## Peace women cram police stations

By Susan Tirbitt

A hundred and fifty women were crammed inside the Greenham Common air base in Berkshire on Saturday and early yesterday during a demonstration protesting against a 12-month prison sentence for criminal damage imposed last month on one of the peace campers, a vicar's wife from Wales.

The MoD said none of the women had reached sensitive areas inside the base. Charges were made under military by-laws, including trespass, against 68 women who were subsequently released on bail.

Sixty-two women detained by Thames Valley Police because they refused to give their names and addresses were being held last night in police cells in Reading, Slough, Windsor, High Wycombe, Maidenhead, and Abingdon.

"The stations around Newbury are full to capacity," Thames Valley police said.

Newbury magistrates are expected to hold a special court session today to hear the cases.

The demonstration was in protest against the sentence passed by Aylesbury magistrates on Mrs Ann Francis, aged 44. She denied criminal damage but admitted cutting through the fence twice as a "righteous act."

Protesters against the sentence claim that they got into the base through an old hole in the wire fence but Ministry of Defence police claim that it was cut during the demonstration.

Six anti-nuclear demonstrators were arrested inside the Aylesbury US air base in Cambridgeshire last night. A spokesman for the protesters said they had thrown carpets over the barbed wire fence and climbed over it.

## Prisoner dies

John Jackson, aged 18, a prisoner at Wallingborough youth centre, collapsed and died yesterday during a training run for the centre's sports day.

He was serving 30 months' youth custody for unlawful wounding and grievous bodily harm. The coroner has been informed.

## Day return

Sir Robin Day, aged 61, returns to television in 10 days to chair Question Time for the first time since his heart surgery three months ago.

## Tory opponents line up to spike Fowler schedule

Continued from page one

sphere of hostility, even from some former admirers.

One senior minister said: "The trouble with Nigel is that he just isn't a good colleague. Everyone now knows that he's one of our biggest problems."

With difficult negotiations with public sector unions ahead over pay claims, and reports that the Commons select committee on defence are questioning Mr Michael Heseltine's budget forecasts, the chancellor's opportunities to make himself more popular are limited.

The Prime Minister is now being advised by some of her closest confidants that perhaps the most important element on her cabinet reshuffle, expected in September, is the choice of

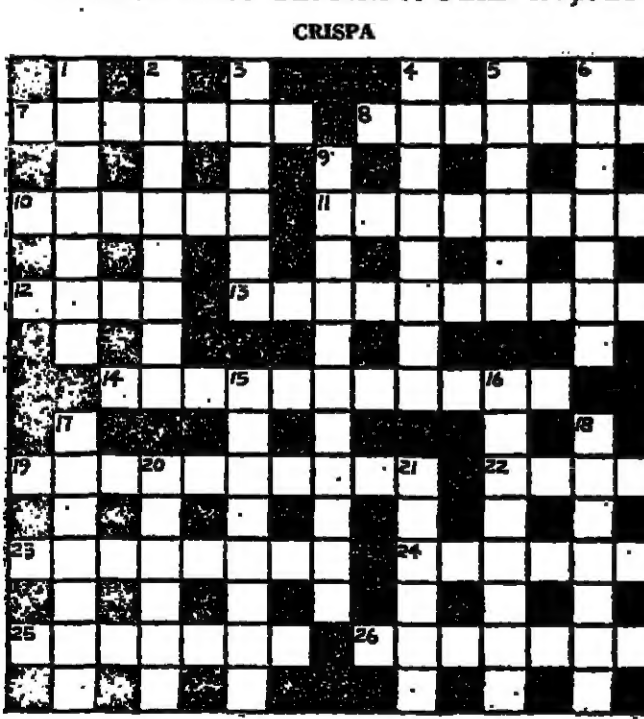
a new Treasury Chief Secretary to replace Mr Peter Rees. They are arguing that Mrs Thatcher must appoint a minister with considerable experience and guile to overcome the resentment now evident at Mr Lawson's approach.

## Peak efforts for charity

Four men began an attempt to climb Ben Nevis, Scafell Pike, and Snowdon in 24 hours yesterday.

To achieve their target they will have to drive 410 miles between the three peaks — the highest in Scotland, England, and Wales. The sponsored effort is intended to raise about £500 for a new hospital being built at Ilkerton, Derbyshire.

## GUARDIAN CROSSWORD 17,246



- ACROSS**
- 7 Bound to be against punishment (7)
  - 8 Transport a front for a mobile home (7)
  - 10 Make an erasure that's allowed in a letter (6)
  - 11 Hurt the French — and about time, note! (8)
  - 12 A prima-donna eager for retirement (4)
  - 13 Put off housing record, landed in the poultry-house (4, 6)
  - 14 Private family needs, it might appear (11)
  - 15 Takes no notice whatever of Diana's friendly expression (10)
  - 22 Always included among the vertebrata (4)
  - 23 This bean is used to make a liqueur (8)
  - 24 Elegance of language (6)
  - 25 A group of students — half-rushed back (7)
  - 26 Gets in a middle, causing some irritation (7)
- DOWN**
- 1 Bloomer made by shy writer (7)
  - 2 Bringer-up the rear nevertheless (5, 3)
  - 3 Mean though trendy minister (6)
  - 4 Cancel fifty rather than a hundred to back a knight (8)
  - 5 Get around a bishop, having room (6)
  - 6 A university man (a non-driver) went first, but put up a fight (7)
  - 9 Fruit and beer rise maybe a pound up to begin with (11)
  - 15 Topping protection when there's a draught! (8)
  - 16 Provokes some leader, though it's quite uncalculated (8)
  - 17 Musical instrument of distinctive tone a learner wanted (7)
  - 18 Drunken characters sit near the wine (7)
  - 20 Men serving one with the wrong fruit (6)
  - 21 Putting drink by, make a meal (6)

**SOLUTION tomorrow**

**SOLUTION (left) TO PRIZE PUZZLE 17,233**

Winner of this week's £20 prize is Mrs C. Edwards, of 26 Queen Street, Oadby, Leicestershire. Runners-up (£10 book token each) are John May, of Arundell House, Thebury, Salisbury; G. K. Bennett, of 33 Alford Road, West Bridgford, Nottingham; and Dr P. S. Raderecht, of Tresanton, Bathampton Lane, Bath.

## Shiffes close in on last redoubts of Palestinian camps

Continued from page one

leading his supporters' military (and financial) muscle to local Lebanese parties, especially the dignified, entrenched Sunni Muslims, he could try to play the spoiler's role, disrupting the Syrian masterplan.

So Syria has to cut the Palestinians down to size. It is doing so through the Shiffes. Amal is a more than willing instrument. The "battle of the camps" is the culmination of the Shiffes' ever-growing antipathy to the Palestinians.

Ever since Arafat established his Fatahland in the late 1960s, they, of all Lebanese communities, have suffered most from the country's unwilling involvement in the Arab-Israeli struggle. With the development of the Shiffes' own resistance movement against the Israel occupiers, came a pride whose overblown has been an undignified contempt for the Palestinians' own military performance, and a determination to ensure that these so-called freedom fighters never return to the south, bringing Israeli wrath down on Shiffes heads once again. They feel that they have more than earned the right to a peaceful life, the right to guarantee, by their own means, that once the last Israeli soldier has left and the "security zone" is dismantled, Israel, too, will enjoy

tranquillity on its side of the frontier.

Palestinian garrisons planted in the midst of Shiffes zones, but because with the growth of their military power in the capital itself, the Palestinians would acquire a particularly effective means of asserting themselves in the Lebanese political arena, at the Shiffes' expense."

Whether Syria gave Amal the approval to attack the camps, or whether the fighting just grew out of intercommunal antagonism, is largely academic. In any case, it fits in with the Syrian design, and after two days of coyness, Damascus came out behind Amal. It insisted that its Palestinian allies of the Beirut camps were a clear and present danger, not merely

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things: that they would pursue their rivalries by political and military means, and that all would join forces in defence of the camps against any external aggression.

That has now happened. Palestinian factions which once fought against each other in the Bekaa valley and Tripoli now pledge that they will defend the camps together till the last man. An ugly cycle of cause and effect is making the Palestinians more intransigent than ever. The Shiffes were infuriated to find that these "cowards" not only fight, but do so in such conditions more effectively than they do. As their losses grow, so have their vengeful atrocities.

## THE WEATHER

### Heavy rain in places

A DEPRESSION to the southwest of Britain will move slowly north-eastwards with an unstable atmosphere, bringing rain to most of Britain ahead of the associated trough of low pressure.

London, SE, 25-27°C; E. England, 24-26°C; S. England, 23-25°C; W. England, 22-24°C; N. England, 21-23°C; Scotland, 20-22°C; Ireland, 19-21°C.

Other cities: Manchester, 22-24°C; Birmingham, 23-25°C; Cardiff, 22-24°C; Glasgow, 21-23°C; Edinburgh, 20-22°C; Liverpool, 22-24°C; Newcastle, 23-25°C; Nottingham, 22-24°C; Oxford, 23-25°C; Plymouth, 22-24°C; Reading, 23-25°C; Southampton, 22-24°C; Swansea, 22-24°C; Wolverhampton, 22-24°C.

### AROUND THE WORLD

Location	Temp	Wind	Cloud
Algeria	25-27	SE 10-15	Partly
Athens	24-26	SE 10-15	Partly
Bombay	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Buenos Aires	18-20	SE 10-15	Partly
Calcutta	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Cairo	24-26	SE 10-15	Partly
Colon	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Hong Kong	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
London	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Madras	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Manila	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Mexico City	18-20	SE 10-15	Partly
Mumbai	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Paris	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Rangoon	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
San Francisco	18-20	SE 10-15	Partly
Singapore	28-30	SE 10-15	Partly
Tokyo	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Yokohama	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly

### AROUND BRITAIN

Location	Temp	Wind	Cloud
London	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Manchester	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Birmingham	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Cardiff	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Glasgow	21-23	SE 10-15	Partly
Edinburgh	20-22	SE 10-15	Partly
Liverpool	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Newcastle	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Nottingham	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Oxford	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Plymouth	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Reading	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Southampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Swansea	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Wolverhampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly

### EAST COAST

Location	Temp	Wind	Cloud
London	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Manchester	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Birmingham	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Cardiff	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Glasgow	21-23	SE 10-15	Partly
Edinburgh	20-22	SE 10-15	Partly
Liverpool	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Newcastle	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Nottingham	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Oxford	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Plymouth	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Reading	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Southampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Swansea	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Wolverhampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly

### SOUTH COAST

Location	Temp	Wind	Cloud
London	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Manchester	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Birmingham	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Cardiff	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Glasgow	21-23	SE 10-15	Partly
Edinburgh	20-22	SE 10-15	Partly
Liverpool	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Newcastle	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Nottingham	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Oxford	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Plymouth	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Reading	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Southampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Swansea	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Wolverhampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly

### SCOTLAND

Location	Temp	Wind	Cloud
London	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Manchester	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Birmingham	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Cardiff	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Glasgow	21-23	SE 10-15	Partly
Edinburgh	20-22	SE 10-15	Partly
Liverpool	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Newcastle	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Nottingham	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Oxford	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Plymouth	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Reading	23-25	SE 10-15	Partly
Southampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Swansea	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly
Wolverhampton	22-24	SE 10-15	Partly

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